EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING: A REVIEW OF THE CRITICAL ISSUES

Chris Murphy
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COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING:
A REVIEW OF THE CRITICAL ISSUES -
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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TRS No. 6

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INTRODUCTION

In order to stimulate discussion of future directions for policing in Canada, the Secretariat Research Division of the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada, in collaboration with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, initiated a comprehensive review of the research and program literature on community-based policing. A large body of literature was reviewed in order to clarify the fundamental principles and practices of community-based policing. This executive summary provides an overview of the findings and conclusions. The full report (Technical Report No. 6) is available on request from the Communications Group, Ministry of the Solicitor General, 340 Laurier Avenue West, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0P8.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

CHAPTER I: THE CHANGING POLICE ENVIRONMENT

Community-based policing is an alternative philosophy of policing for the modern policing environment. Within that environment, however, there is a continuing conflict between the demand for more direct accountability to the public and the traditional institutional belief in police autonomy.

Large bureaucratic police organizations that reward crime control activities more than they reward social service, order maintenance and crime prevention have contributed to some alienation of the police from the community. Community demands for more responsive government services, in general, are evident in increased public interest in the management and operations of policing. This has been accentuated by the rapidly increasing costs of policing and public demand for more fiscal, administrative and operational accountability. Institutional mechanisms therefore are needed which will ensure both public accountability and police autonomy.

The development of provincial police commissions and local police boards indicates a desire among responsible local governments for more police accountability. Governing agencies will have significant effects on Canadian policing. Increased accountability is a predictable future development, and the police may find it necessary to involve the community more actively in law enforcement operations if they wish to retain full public support and confidence.

The Economic Environment: Crisis or Opportunity?

Fiscal restraint is perhaps the most critical environmental issue facing the police. Police budgets will probably correlate more directly with government expenditures and not, as in the past, with increasing crime, population growth and service demands. The challenge for police management will be to achieve "improvement without growth." A "reactive crime fighting" police response could reduce pub-lic support and co-operation and encourage the growth of private policing alternatives. On the other hand, fiscal restraint could generate effective organizational reform and renewal. Shifting some of the responsibility for selected crime and order problems back to the community could help to alleviate police resource problems. Financial restraints could promote a more co-operative community-based approach to policing between interdependent partners in the collective enterprise of community protection and service.

Demographic Change and Policing

The police mandate is affected by social forces such as changes in the growth, composition and distribution of population. A general decrease in the young, crime-prone sector of the community (males aged 16-24), an increase in the proportion of elderly Canadians, and rural-urban population shifts are macro social trends which will affect the structure of policing, the nature and distribution of demands placed upon the police, and the kinds of police services that will be required. Analysis of these trends should be an important part of police planning and management.

Crime Trends and Analysis

Sophisticated analysis of crime patterns and long-term crime trends are necessary ingredients for sound police decision making and policy development. Evidence suggests that traditional methods of crime data collection and analysis need improvement before effective projective techniques can be used for planning. New computerized management information systems have significant potential for improving crime analysis and operational planning. Problem analysis, based on a comprehensive understanding of criminal opportunity and victim-offender data, will become an important part of more effective crime control strategies.

Demand For "Non-Crime" Police Services

The growing demand for "non-crime" police services creates a major resource problem. Research suggests that requests for non-crime police services will increase at a faster rate than requests for crime-related services. Service demands can be interpreted as a statement of what the public expects from its police. It is clear that the police cannot continue to be "all things to all people." Major alterations to existing arrangements will require a re-evaluation of police priorities and capacities. Changes that would alter the present methods and levels of police services will require careful negotiation between police agencies and the communities they serve.

Thus, the combined pressures of accountability to the public, financial constraints and increasing service demand create strong demands for change in traditional policing. One promising answer is community-based policing, which involves communities actively in policy formulation and policing in their own environment.

CHAPTER II: THE ROLE OF THE POLICE: THE CASE FOR COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING

Whether spelled out in formal policy statements or implied in routine management decisions, a working concept of the police role guides the operation of a police department. Thus, in discussing the police role, we in effect define the fundamental nature of police work, its organizational objectives, social responsibilities and response priorities. Debate over which role model best fits contemporary policing compares the benefits of the traditional crime fighting definition of police work with the community-based model.

Role Realities: Research Findings

Community-based policing, to date, represents a loose amalgamation of research findings, experimental police strategies and various community-oriented philosophies of police work. A review of the empirical research on what the police actually do allows some fundamental observations to be made about the realities of police work. First, the police are involved in a wide variety of activities other than crime control. Second, these non-crime services constitute the bulk of police activity. Third, a significant percentage of police working time is spent in a relatively unstructured fashion. A related body of empirical research addressing the role expectations of the police and the public reveals basic agreement about what the police actually do, believe they do, and what citizens and police believe the police should do. The broad and diverse nature of the police role is thus in keeping with public and police expectations.

Distinctive Qualities of The Police Role

The array of tasks performed by the police has caused some confusion over the role of the police and other community service agencies. Analysis suggests that two elements of the police role distinguish the police generally from other agencies of social service: (a) the legitimate capacity and authority to use coercive force; and (b) a unique access to law. The authority and ability to intervene in problem situations and impose legal remedies that are non-negotiable gives the police a unique function in community problem solving. This aspect of the police role is foremost in the minds of people who ask for police assistance in critical situations. The literature suggests that the police will always have a wide-ranging response mandate. Given their powers of intervention, most crisis and order problems will naturally be dealt with by the police, who will, most likely, always be the "agency of first choice" in crisis situations. This fact must be understood in any attempt to redefine the role of the police or change the basic nature of police work.

Role Alternatives

Community-based policing models integrate the complex social role of the police into a broad policing philosophy, while the traditional crime control model places more emphasis on crime related aspects of the police mandate. Community-based policing seems to offer a more effective way of using police resources in order to meet broad community needs and changing public expectations.

The Crime Control Policing Model

In the crime control model, the most important goal of policing is the suppression of crime. The police define themselves as law enforcers or crime fighters. Performance evaluations are based on quantitative measures of crime; i.e., crime rates, clearance rates, criminal code caseloads, arrests and conviction rates, etc. Non-crime related activities are considered peripheral to crime control functions, even though the majority of police time is spent on social service activities. Thus a crime control police department justifies its mandate mainly on the basis of its ability to do "real police work", fighting crime and apprehending criminal offenders.

The perceived shortcomings of the crime control model have provided a basis for the development of a community-based alternative model. Critics assert that the crime control role model is a narrow definition of the original police mandate, that it ignores the fact that the bulk of actual police activity and requests for service are of a non-crime nature, that it exaggerates the effects of police strategies in controlling crime, that it leads to the neglect of other important police service and orders maintenance functions and that it is an inappropriate model for Canadian policing, given the relatively low rate of serious crime in Canada.

Community-Based Policing

Community-based policing is an "umbrella" term used to describe certain approaches to policing that encourage police involvement with the community. From a review of the literature, five key principles have been identified, that form the basis of the community-based policing philosophy:

1. The importance of the community in police decision making: The community is not simply viewed as a passive recipient of police services, but as an active element in the decision making process which affects priorities, allocations and the implementation of police services.

2. The objectives of policing are broad and community-defined: The general peace, order and security needs of a community are defined as the appropriate ends or goals of a community-based police service. Order maintenance and social service functions are legitimized by acceptance of the broad social objectives of policing and are not seen as marginal policing responsibilities.

3. The diverse functions that the police perform are legitimate elements of the police role: What the public expects and want the police to do is, by and large, similar to what the police should do. The diverse nature of activities comprising the police role are thus products of public definitions of police work. Adopting a broad definition of the police role simply brings role definitions in line with the realities of police work and the expectations of the community.

4. Community-based policing is based on a shared responsibility between the police and the community: The police are seen as a special but interrelated component of a complex system of social control in the community. They should, where possible, support, educate, co-ordinate and animate dormant self-policing capacities of the community.

5. Community-based policing advocates proactive involvement with the community: The police are expected to break away from the traditional reactive response mode and become proactively involved in the identification and management of community crime and order problems.

CHAPTER III: MANAGEMENT ISSUES IN COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING

Developing and implementing community-based policing is fundamentally a management responsibility. As a distinctive philosophy of policing, it presents significant management problems and challenges.

The Community-Based Management Perspective

In order to develop a community-based police department, it is necessary to adopt a perspective that differs from traditional approaches to police management. Police managers must recognize the importance and legitimacy of the community as an essential participant in police operations.

A police manager must strive to have the same degree of understanding of the community as he has of his own organization. This includes being sensitive to the nature of community demands for police services, demographic characteristics and socio-cultural standards. On this understanding an effective working relationship between the community and the police can be based. Once this relationship is established, a process of co-operative problem identification and priority-setting can be initiated, and substantive policing goals for the police organization can be established. This collaborative process, which taps genuine community concerns and problems, increases the chances of program success and community satisfaction.

Additional police resources may be made available by restructuring traditional responses to demands for service, for example, by asking citizens to fill out reports on minor thefts at the police station, instead of dispatching a uniformed officer in response to the each call. Shifting responsibility to the community for aspects of policing such as crime prevention programs (e.g. neighborhood watch and operation identification), coupled with an awareness of the limits of police resources and capabilities, should provide the police with more flexibility in the management of scarce organizational resources.

Once community policing goals have been established, however, the police manager must decide the best means of achieving these goals.

Structuring Community-Based Police Operations

Community-based policing requires a reappraisal of traditional methods of organizing police services. Research shows that small to medium-sized departments receive more favourable ratings from citizens, have lower victimization rates and lower unreported crime rates, compared with large metropolitan police agencies. In larger urban jurisdictions, a similar effect can be achieved by decentralized management, which permits the district or zone manager to provide police services that are responsive to local needs and priorities.

Decentralized models of service delivery are intended to maximize organizational participation and information sharing within police organizations and thereby promote greater productivity. A community-based police organization must have the flexibility to delegate decision making authority to those teams or individuals that deal directly with the community.

Given that general duty constables have the most contact with the public, it is necessary that they have sufficient authority and the motivation to develop good public relationships. Reduction of frontline responsibilities through excessive specialization of some police functions, such as community relations, crime prevention, public education, and criminal investigation, should be avoided because it may result in abdication of line responsibility, unnecessary job fragmentation and lessened job satisfaction.

To encourage the kind of individual performance that would allow a community-based police organization to meet its broad objectives, a more comprehensive system of performance incentives, aimed at rewarding community-oriented activities, will be needed.

Managing Human Resources

Because police work is labour intensive, it is not surprising that efforts to improve service delivery have been concentrated on human resource development and on the development of technology to aid resource planning. Without losing sight of the need for qualified personnel, the community-based model stresses the importance of first establishing a well-developed policing philosophy with clear, attainable goals and objectives, reinforced by an organizational structure consistent with these objectives. Community based policing emphasizes the importance of creating a work environment which encourages personnel to develop new skills and to take the initiative on identifying problems and suggesting solutions.

Selection, training and career planning is of critical importance since the success of community-based policing work depends on the attitudes, goals and skills of police personnel at all levels of the organization. Police training must be timely and relevant to current policing realities. The community-based model stresses the need for training which goes beyond traditional crime fighting role models and stresses a broad understanding of the social and legal complexities of contemporary society.

Higher education is also important in order to provide police with the expertise to analyze social, cultural, demographic and political trends and identify the implications of these trends for policing.

Attracting the "best and the brightest" people to police work and providing them with appropriate rewards, however, may well be problematic, considering present fiscal restraints in Canadian policing and the lack of promotional opportunity. A major personnel problem may result from this conflict between promotional expectations and limited opportunities unless some immediate steps are taken.

Recent research advocates a "career constabulary", enriching the role of constable to make it attractive as a long-term occupation. Commensurate with this arrangement would be an organization less dependent on vertical rank structure. This position is consistent with the concept of constable-centered policing, which enhances the intrinsic rewards and challenges of routine police work. New methods of acknowledging and rewarding good community police work, excellence and expertise in problem solving and in program development and service delivery, must be developed. General duty patrol work must become more than a low status position where the incumbent "marks time" in anticipation of better things to come.

Managing Organizational Change

The ultimate objective of efforts to change the police must be to increase their capacity to deliver high quality police services to a community consistent with democratic values and local needs. The first section of this summary has drawn attention to numerous social pressures that suggest the necessity of change for the police. The community-based policing model represents a logical response to these pressures and can be viewed as an approach which adjusts traditional notions of the police role in order to meet the present demands of the police environment.

Traditional organizational change strategies have concentrated predominantly on internal management issues (i.e., upgrading personnel, upgrading hardware, accumulating state of the art technology, etc.), or what can be termed "process" issues. Because of growing financial constraints such changes will prove increasingly difficult to justify unless their impact on substantive policing problems can be demonstrated to the public. The focus of changes in police forces should therefore be on the search for innovative, cost-effective policing strategies to address policing priorities.

Management Information Systems

New technology has historically had a dramatic impact on policing. The automobile, telephone and radio all have had major effects on the methods and nature of police work. New computer technology promises also to transform the way police organizations operate and are managed. Computerized Police Management Information Systems (MIS) are fundamentally a tool for controlling and using information for decision making, and areparticularly important for the police because of the amount and complexity of information required to do their job and the need for efficient means of information storage, retrieval and analysis.

New automated police information systems promise to dramatically improve the business of information gathering, storing and analysis. Paper-based systems are slow and inefficient as a means of storage retrieval and analysis of large amounts of information and therefore constitute a major problem for police managers and operational staff. MIS provide an opportunity for management decision making to be based on reliable and timely information about what has happened in the past, what is now happening, and what will probably be happening in the future. While the management of policing will remain an art and decisions will still depend on individual or group expertise, these decisions can now be complemented by a wealth of factual empirical data.

An MIS in the community-based police organization should enhance the ability of managers to meet effectively the demands of community-based policing by: (a) clarifying organizational objectives; (b) providing an enhanced capacity to monitor individual and organizational performance; (c) decentralizing information and knowledge to line constables and investigators; (d) promoting the planning and evaluation of policing programs;and (e) enhancing managers' ability to meet new demands for police accountability.

MIS offers police a greater capacity to generate measures of police activity in all areas of the police mandate and thus provide a more complete description of the police role in the community, whereas previous measures of police performance have tended to focus primarily on crime-related aspects of police work. Internally, this means that all police activities, including order maintenance and social service, as well as law enforcement can be more accurately evaluated in terms of individual output and the use of organizational resources. Equally important, this kind of information can be used to educate the public about the full range of the activities that police departments must perform and allow police managers to demonstrate the relative resource costs involved.

An MIS allows the centralization of an expanded information base for planning and evaluation purposes at the senior management level while at the same time allowing for more decentralized operations and line staff input. An effective MIS can satisfy the demand for central organizational control and planning by providing an expanded flow of line information on the activities of various support and operational sub units of the organization. Though operationally there may be less direct contact between senior management and operational staff, the improved information flow achieved by an MIS allows decentralized service delivery without a corresponding loss of central management control.

CHAPTER IV: TACTICS AND TECHNIQUES FOR THE DELIVERY OF COMMUNITY-BASED POLICE SERVICES

Community-based policing does not imply a specific programatic approach to policing; only that there be community involvement in both the identification and resolution of policing problems. The major advantage of the community-based model is that it recognizes and accepts the fundamental diversity of the community and allows for the flexible and democratic development of an organizational approach to policing which is consistent with the responsibilities and obligations of the police to the community and the law.

It follows that a wide variety of tactics are at the disposal of the police, depending on the community context. Innovative approaches to police service delivery are being developed, to make better use of existing resources. These methods may become standard practice in the future.

Problem-Oriented Policing

Problem-oriented policing is essentially a systematic approach to analysing community policing problems. It advocates analytic flexibility in how an agency chooses to organize its resources to deal with a given substantive problem. The problem-oriented approach recognizes the need to look at the community as a whole in determining social and financial costs associated with a particular community problem. Focussing police efforts on discrete and definable problems allows measurement of police performance and definition of specific police outputs and resource costs. Past efforts to improve police responses have been greatly limited because of a preoccupation with the criminal justice system, and the assumption that responses must be developed and discharged only from within the police agency. Selecting and implementing alternatives should be a collaborative effort, with the police as lead agency. This approach requires the police to be more outgoing and to seek ways of working more effectively with other community agencies.

Team Policing

Team policing acknowledges the primary preventive mandate of the police, the shared responsibility of the community and the police for crime and order problems, and the importance of joint information sharing and decision making. Team policing can be described as combining geographic stability and decentralization of authority, with an emphasis on community relations , crime prevention, internal communications and reduced use of specialists. Both team policing and the community-based model rest on a pro-active police/community partnership, thereciprocal exchange of information and shared responsibility for a diverse range of community problems. Team policing, where appropriate, becomes a strategy for the implementation of community-based policing.

Crime Prevention

It is increasingly apparent that the police alone cannot supply the level of protection that many communities require. One solution to this problem is to adopt a different response to the traditional problems of crime control and community protection. This approach can be labelled community-based crime prevention. Crime prevention has been defined as the "anticipation, recognition and appraisal of crime risk and the initiation of some action to reduce that risk." Community-based policing and crime prevention are closely associated and although they have similar objectives, they are not the same thing.

Community-based policing is a general philosophy of policing with specific social goals, while crime prevention is a strategy for meeting some of these goals. Crime prevention, as a proactive strategy of crime control, should allow more effective use of police resources by releasing resources traditionally allocated to response to calls for service. Crime prevention is a policing strategy by which the police can have an impact on crime, reduce demands for police service, enhance their protection and service functions in the community, increase police/citizen interaction and share some of the responsibility for crime control with the community.

The exact role of the police in community-based crime prevention programming will to a great extent depend on the awareness of the need for crime prevention in the community, police ability to respond to that need, willingness on the part of the community to participate and the amenability of particular crime problems to preventive strategies.

Differential Response Models: Rationalizing Calls For Service

Although citizens may expect the police to respond to all calls for service, it is no longer practical in many communities for the police to do so; what is required is a new a system for classifying various types of calls and matching police response alternatives to these calls. A "differential response model" allows managers to establish priorities and select varied but appropriate police responses. The model involves three components: (1) a set of call classifications; (2) a determination of time between the occurrence of the incident and its report to the police; and (3) a range of possible police responses.

Calls for service are identified by incident classification and time occurrence category. These two factors determine the proper response to that call from among a range of alternative responses. Response alternatives include: dispatching sworn personnel; dispatching non-sworn personnel; taking the incident report by phone; requiring the caller to mail the report of the incident (mail-in); requiring the caller to file the report at the police station (walk-in), referring the caller to another agency; or not responding at all.

Research indicates that the public is receptive to a variety of police response alternatives. Because the model involves reducing the number of calls to which sworn personnel immediately respond, thus reducing the frequency of mobile police response, it is reasonable to expect that the differential response model will be less expensive than traditional full response methods. Patrol can be consolidated, planned and directed to a variety of functions, such as targetting areas of high crime activity (e.g. break and enters). It then becomes possible to make the patrol constable's job more interesting by providing an opportunity to participate in developing more productive policing strategies. Decreasing the volume of calls for immediate response thus allows policemen to concentrate on the quality and continuity of services provided. This should ultimately translate into more productive police and greater citizen satisfaction.

Police Patrol Strategies

Traditional preventive patrol is intended to create an image of police omnipresence within a community through the random, visible movement of police vehicles, in order to deter crime and facilitate rapid response to calls for service. Research has challenged the effectiveness of random patrol as a deterrent, while suggesting that motorized patrol strategies have increased the alienation of the police from the community, thus compromising a valuable source of police information and support. Research also indicates that rapid response is not the major factor in determining citizen satisfaction. As a result of this critical research, various patrol options have been developed in the hope of improving patrol productivity.

Directed patrol strategies are alternatives to unstructured and random traditional preventive patrol. The term "Directed Patrol" means that constables undertake patrol activities in order to accomplish specific policing objectives, such as being involved in co-ordinated preventive or surveillance strategies in high crime areas. One approach to more effective use of patrol resources is the "split-force" patrol, which involves separating the patrol division into two separate groups: (1) a basic patrol force which responds to calls for service (and limited patrol activities when not responding to calls); and (2) a structured patrol force which engages almost exclusively in directed crime prevention, deterrence and apprehension activities (e.g. targetting high-crime areas in order to identify and apprehend offenders). To support and direct split-force patrol, a call priority system (differential response model) is established and crime problem analysis determines specific patrol objectives. This approach has proven instrumental in increasing patrol productivity and decreasing reported criminal activity.

Foot patrol, one of the oldest and most costly police activities, can also be used to good effect. Recent research indicates that although foot patrol may not be any more effective in preventing reported crime than mobile patrol, it does significantly reduce public fear of crime and enhances perceptions of neighbourhood security. Foot patrols also tend to diminish routine calls for service because citizens informally resolve minor issues with the more accessible foot patrol constables. General findings also suggest that foot patrol has a beneficial effect on police/community relations, heightens existing levels of co-operation between the public and the police and does not compromise traditional patrol objectives.

Criminal Investigation Trends

The overall effectiveness of current management and practices in criminal investigation has been the subject of much recent research. The findings indicate that differences in investigation training, staffing, workload and procedures suggest to have limited effects on rates of reported crime, arrests or clearance. The single most important determinant of whether a case will be solved is the information that the victim supplies to the responding patrol constable. Although these findings have been the subject of academic and police debate, they have resulted in various reform strategies.

Formal case screening methods, using a point scoring system for different solvability factors, help identify systematically those offences most likely to result in arrest. Case screening models provide police managers with a standard method with which to manage more productive use of investigative resources. Alternative methods of deploying investigative personnel are also explored. Research indicates that decentralizing detectives to patrol teams produces positive results such as increased arrests and crimes cleared, and improved communication between patrol and detective units. The initial results of case screening and alternative deployment strategies offer a more optimistic appraisal of the impact of management techniques on the investigation process. Studies also show that when the value of case screening is explained, the public accepts it without complaint.

CONCLUSION

This review of the relevant research and literature on community-based policing examines a number of observations and criticisms of contemporary policing. It is suggested that police must plan, with the community, new co-operative models of police service delivery. Community-based policing appears to offer a way of "doing more with less" by providing new and previously untapped community resources and support. The redefinition of what had become exclusive police problems as shared community problems draws on the capacities of both the community and the police to respond co-operatively to the order and security needs of the community.

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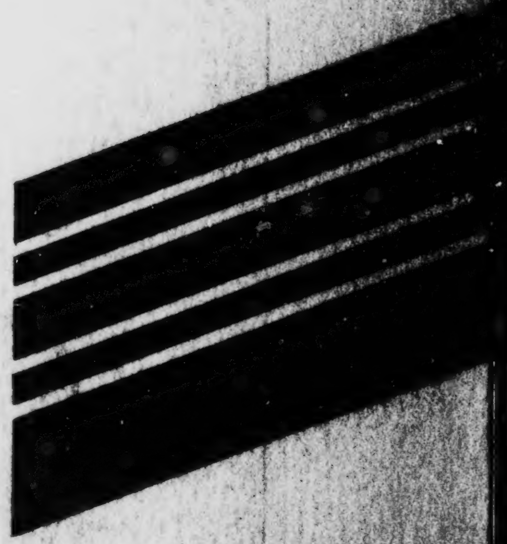

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CHAPTER I - THE CHANGING POLICE ENVIRONMENT

INTRODUCTION

Policing has always been shaped in various ways by social forces. The mix of tasks assigned to the police, crime trends, level of police power, resource funding, public attitudes, role expectations, etc., are all influenced by diverse social factors often beyond the control of the police. A realistic review of community-based policing as a policy option must take into account the external realities and constraints within which today's police managers must formulate current organizational policies.

Analysis of a number of key social trends in the Canadian police environment suggests a strong mandate for reassessing present police philosophies and practices. A changing social environment requires flexible and innovative police responses. How the police respond to these challenges will shape the direction of Canadian policing for years to come.

The following discussion provides an overview of selected social trends and pressures that promise to have an important impact on the nature and variety of demands placed on the police. 'Community-based policing' is proposed as a policy option which offers Canadian policing a viable and creative management response to an otherwise restrictive and problematic police environment.

THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT: THE TREND TOWARDS MORE POLICE ACCOUNTABILITY

Perhaps no single issue in policing has been the source of so much confusion, conflict and controversy as the political governance of policing. The issues are varied and complex, but focus primarily on the competing and often conflicting principles of political accountability and police autonomy. Indeed, the history of policing has been characterized by an ongoing debate on the correct relationship between the police desire for operational independence and the democratic right of the community to maintain political control over police activities.

In the past, policing has been marked by direct and sometimes unrestricted political control, particularly at the local municipal level. Allowing the police to be subject to direct political manipulation has become unacceptable to the police as well as the public. The modernization and reform of municipal and provincial government and the development of modern police professionalism has gradually moved the balance of control away from elected government officials towards a more autonomous 'professional' policing model. In essence, freedom from external political control has been exchanged for a system of internal self-control based on the constraints of bureaucratic administration and individual professionalism.

However, this more autonomous policing model has prompted new concerns over the limited effectiveness of professional self-regulation and more importantly the diminished sense of public accountability intrinsic to the modern, organizationally 'closed' model. Some critics (Angell, 1972) argue that police bureaucracies have become socially isolated and organizationally rigid, making them unresponsive and inflexible to public and political concerns. They argue that modern police bureaucracies have increased the gap between the police and the public in their search for internal organizational efficiency and control.

> Classic theory also supports police reformers who insist that police departments be isolated from politics. As police departments become more refined and move nearer this goal, they move further away from another basic goal of democracy--guaranteeing every citizen access to and influence with governmental agencies. Under a highly developed police bureaucracy, nearly all citizens view their police department as essentially beyond their understanding and control. Where the police department is a highly developed traditional bureaucracy, its structure and its philosophical underpinnings will eventually cause the organization to become socially irrelevant and ineffective. This situation in turn will have a profoundly damaging effect upon police and community relations. (Angell, 1971:190)

The growing critique of the independent bureaucratic model can be seen as part of a general 'crisis of legitimacy' that is confronting all government institutions in modern societies. Growing public demand for more responsive and accountable government will inevitably mean that government services, including the police, will be pressured to become more accountable and responsive to public and political concerns.

A recent study (Hogarth, 1982), suggests that the issue of police accountability and control has recently become more pronounced throughout the Western World. A number of government inquiries, commissions and supreme court cases suggest that Canada is experiencing much the same problem. Hogarth (1982,112) reports that two conflicting trends seem to characterize the Canadian situation: "a general trend towards democratizing the internal policing mandate, coupled with moves to make the service more accountable and responsive to the community." The present situation has left a variety of critical issues to be resolved.

> The scope of police authority to act independently of political or ministerial control must be defined. Related to that, there are a number of questions to be answered, such as: who sets general policy for public police forces in Canada; which police decisions require approval from an appropriate civilian body or from higher authority; and which civilian has, or ought to have, the right or

> duty to oversee the police, and at what level should this control be exercised? At present, clear and unambiguous answers to all these questions cannot be found in the Canadian context... (Hogarth, 1982:113)

While it would be premature to predict how these issues will be resolved, it would be safe to assume that in the next ten years there will be increasing definite political pressure to attempt to resolve them. Perhaps the central issue is what mechanisms can be developed which best "ensure the accountability of the police and at the same time protect the police from unwarranted political interference in the day-to-day professional decisions and discharge of their duties." (Hogarth, 1982:113)

Present economic conditions facing all governments provide new incentive for expanding the issue of police accountability beyond fiscal matters into areas of operational policy. Increased pressures on governments at all levels to demonstrate responsible and efficient 'fiscal' management will inevitably motivate police boards and/or commissions to scrutinize more carefully the entire police management process. Police managers will be required to justify budgetary allocations, not just on the basis of sound fiscal management but on more general issues such as satisfaction of community priorities and effectiveness of service. Previously exclusive police policy decisions will become defined as political issues open to public and political debate. For example, the 'administrative' allocation of scarce police resources, or 'who gets what, when, where and how,' becomes an important 'political' issue as it involves the authority of the community to determine policing priorities.

PROVINCIAL INVOLVEMENT IN MUNICIPAL POLICING

Provincial police commissions will probably continue to expand their role in the government and management of municipal policing. Designed to strengthen provincial involvement in the governing of municipal policing, police commissions in Canada have provided an important co-ordinating and standardizing function for municipal police services. Provincial funding and the legislation of various Police Acts have provided provincial police commissions with a capacity for ensuring minimum policing standards and a mechanism for insuring police accountability in communities under their jurisdiction.

An increased role for provincial police commissions may mean shifting responsibility and control of policing from local community governments to more central provincial government agencies. As financial pressures increase, municipally-funded police departments may find the cost-benefits of regional policing more attractive. Once regional policing is entrenched, it will make the transition to provincial policing, both organizationally and politically, more manageable.

POLICE BOARDS

The creation of Police Boards in Canada has a long and varied history (Stenning, 1981) Though afflicted with some of the previous problems of more direct political control, Police Boards in Canada have become accepted as legitimate institutional mechanisms for rational municipal police governance. Until recently, Police Boards have been reluctant to play an active role in governing municipal policing. Stenning (1982) cites a lack of policing expertise and ambiguous policy making powers, as creating serious doubts about the effectiveness of Police Boards as agencies for ensuring police accountability and public management. At present, there is still considerable debate regarding whether the Chief of Police or the Police Board should have the power to make policy decisions.

> This raises, of course, the question whether senior police management should be the recipients of such policy-making powers. If this role is occupied by the Chief of Police, what is the function of the Police Board (or its equivalent)? Is a Chief of Police subject to policy direction from his Police Board? (Grant, 1980:39)

However, present trends indicate that Police Boards are becoming more actively involved in policy decisions that were previously the exclusive domain of the Chief of Police or Detachment Commander. As Police Boards gain more experience and political pressures force them to become more actively involved and informed, they will increasingly play a more forceful role in police policy formulation. Traditional police resistance to political management will perhaps be no longer acceptable to a public that is being asked to pay more and more for a service beyond public scrutiny.

The recent Hickling-Johnston Management Study (1982) of the Metro Toronto Police Department illustrates this trend toward more active and informed political involvement in police policy decision making. In co-operation with senior Metro Toronto police management, the Toronto Board of Police Commissioners enlisted the assistance of a management consulting firm to review and make recommendations on various aspects of police management and operations. The resulting report has stimulated a major reorganization of the Metro Toronto Police Department and, if fully implemented, will dramatically alter a number of traditional management and operational practices. While the results of this change process have yet to be determined, it can be regarded as an example of increasingly active political and public involvement in previously exclusive, internal police administrative decision making.

Police organizations which attempt to resist legitimate political and public pressures to make police services more responsive and accountable may find themselves in an untenable position and, as Koenig (1982) suggests, make it easier to justify externally-imposed political solutions.

> Indeed, police organizations which are not responsive to changing social conditions can increasingly expect outsiders to fill the vacuum created by their lack of initiative. Their goals and objectives will be specified for them, as will their organizational structures, by politicians, police commissioners and boards, police unions, and influential community leaders. It will no longer suffice to concentrate on improving communication systems, computerizing record keeping, or enhancing response time through elaborate systems... Rather, a fundamental rethinking of goals and a redesigning of policing services to changing social conditions will be expected.
>
> (Koenig, 1982:1)

In summary, recent trends towards more accountable and responsive government services will create additional political pressures for police management to share policy decision-making powers and demonstrate efficient and effective management practices. More active political governance of policing will take place through legitimate political institutions such as police commissions and police boards. Provincial control and influence over municipal and provincial policing will become more pronounced as fiscal responsibilities accrue to the provinces. Municipalities will be forced in some cases to exchange local for regional policing as a cost-saving strategy. In general, there will be an increased demand for the police to be more responsive to a variety of public and political pressures.

THE ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT: THE FISCAL CRISIS OF CANADIAN POLICING

Canada, and the rest of the industrial world, is currently experiencing a significant decline in past patterns of real economic growth. Economists predict that the next decade will be marked by little real economic growth, a prolonged period of fiscal austerity and reductions in current levels of expenditure on government services. Government expenditures on criminal justice, which increased dramatically in the last decade, will be particularly affected by these cutbacks. This is evident in a recent statement on future federal criminal justice policies.

> The government's priority is economic development. Social development outlays are projected to decrease from 8.9% to 8.1% of GNP by

> 1985-86. Approved federal criminal justice expenditures show no real growth over the period. In fact, since the real costs of administering the criminal justice system have historically expanded more rapidly than the pace of inflation and this trend is expected to continue, the area in reality will experience negative growth. This provides increased impetus to Ministry initiatives to seek innovative alternatives to traditional, high cost criminal justice services.
>
> (Solicitor General, 1982:)

As tax-based government revenues decline, provincial and municipal governments are projecting reductions in past levels of criminal justice spending. Unless present economic conditions improve dramatically, it is reasonable to predict that government expenditures on policing services in the 1980's will experience either no growth or be faced with actual decline in real dollars. This could create serious problems for policing, as in the last twenty years the size and cost of police services in Canada has grown remarkably.

Canadian taxpayers and their governments in 1980 paid over 1.6 billion dollars or $71.25 per capita for police services (Sol. Gen., 1981). The average costs for employing a single police officer in 1980 was $34,397 up from 27,028 in 1977-78 (Quebec Ministry of Justice, 1982). Though the growth in the costs of policing generally mirrored similar increases in all government expenditures, comparative data suggests that policing increased proportionally more of its share of total expenditures.

If policing has become expensive in Canada, it is partly because it has grown so dramatically in the last twenty years. The rapid growth of police expenditures in Canada has been primarily a function of a proportional increase in the actual numbers of police per capita and a real increase in police salary and benefit levels (80% of total cost). Though police growth is partly explained by an increasing population and more demand for police services, the rate of growth measured in number of police per capita (100,000) indicates that policing in Canada grew at an even faster rate than the general population; doubling from 1.8 per 1,000 in 1963 to 2.8 per 1,000 in 1977-78 (Chan & Ericson, 1981:86). Comparisons with other areas of government expansion in the last ten years indicates that the police registered higher rates of employment growth than most other government services. (Demers, 1980).

Recent data suggests that the growth period of Canadian policing may already be over. Between 1977 and 1980 the ratio of police per population actually declined from 2.8 per 1,000 in 1977-78 to 2.2 per 1,000 in 1979-80. Some police departments are experiencing both declining levels of government expenditure and diminishing rates of police recruitment. At best, most experts predict that policing can expect little or no growth. Police budgets will correlate only with present levels of government expenditures and not, as has been the case with changing crime, population or service demand patterns. If policing does grow in the future, it will have to do so at the expense of other government services.

THE MANAGEMENT CHALLENGE: IMPROVEMENT WITHOUT GROWTH

Operating an effective and efficient police organization in a period of both fiscal restraint and increasing demands for police services, presents the modern police executive with perhaps the most serious management challenge of the next decade. Retired Chief Constable John Alderson (1981), a noted British police executive and academic, sums up the challenge as, 'improvement without growth' or simply doing more with less. The police executive can regard this challenge as either an insurmountable problem, or as an opportunity for initiating a creative process of organizational consolidation, renewal and reform.

The traditional, and perhaps politically expedient, response will be to cut costs wherever and whenever possible. This could pressure police managers to designate various community-oriented police services, such as crime prevention, social services, youth programs, etc., as non-essential. A tempting retreat to the so-called 'reactive crime fighting role,' while realizing some initial cost-savings, may in the long run prove counter-productive. Abandoning responsibilities for non-crime services may lead to an increasingly uncooperative and unsatisfied public. Without high levels of public support, the police not only become dangerously isolated from the community, but also become less effective in controlling crime. A more restricted police role may also result in diminishing the size and scope of the present police mandate. Koenig (1982:75) suggests how this scenario might take place:

> ...politicians and public officials who, faced with a shortage of resources, suddenly conclude that the mandate of the police under their control should be severely curtailed, and that, where possible, functions should be turned over to other less expensive social control agents and civilians hired to fill much of the remaining police mandate. The police manager who is unclear about what his goals are, how he is deploying resources to achieve them, and how they will change in both the near and long term in response to changing social structures and institutions, will be hard pressed to make the case that should be made. And once the overseers of the police think that they have a good idea, and begin to move toward implementing it, it will be difficult to stop.

An example of the possible consequences of being unable to provide services to communities demanding higher levels of public order and private property protection is evident in the growing use of private security in Canada (Shearing, 1980). The rapid growth of the private security industry should be an indication to police that they no longer have a monopoly on police services. Increasingly, communities, institutions, and public services are turning to cheaper and, some argue, more effective "victim-oriented" private policing. Though not yet perceived in Canada as a threat to traditional police interests, evidence from U.S. trends indicate that private police are beginning to make serious inroads in what have been traditional areas of police responsibility. Thus, if the police manager, in an effort to cut costs, adopts a narrow crime-fighting model and by default allows other community/police services to be absorbed by private policing, he will not only diminish the traditional peace and security roles of the police but perhaps will have lost the vital community service function upon which the traditional police mandate has always been based.

An alternative management response may be to regard the economic climate and its political implications as an opportunity for organizational reform and renewal.

> ...the opportunity for reforming police operations comes about through the combination of two circumstances. One, during the last ten years there has been a virtual explosion in

> knowledge about policing and its corollary means for increasing policing productivity. Two, the fiscal crisis provides the police administrator with added internal and external political leverage to implement such productivity improvement programs. (Vanagunas, 1981:332)

Faced with fewer resources, the creative police manager can use this period as an opportunity to assess the fundamental nature, objective, priorities and practices of his operation. Through this creative management process, the police manager can more effectively redeploy scarce police resources. For example, the police manager faced with increased demand for police services might reassess the efficiency and effectiveness of his patrol functions. As the most important mode of police deployment, a variety of research studies have indicated that random patrol is a relatively inefficient use of police (Press 1971; Kelling, et al., 1974, 1980; Boydstun, 1975). A number of alternative models for more productive use of patrol resources, such as split force, fixed, mobile foot, directed, etc., offer promising strategies for the police manager who wants to do more policing with the same or fewer resources.

Ideally, the police manager should involve the community that he serves in any reassessment or realignment of policing role and service priorities. As any changes in role, service delivery or response practices will effect the kind of police service a community receives, the police executive will need to actively involve the community in these changes. In addition, many cost-effective service alternatives will inevitably mean shifting responsibility for some traditional police activities back to community agencies and groups. Thus, if policing is restructured as a community-oriented service and part of a co-operative policing enterprise, the police may not only survive fiscal austerity but could emerge as the central agency in a more effective community-based model of policing.

DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS: POPULATION STRUCTURES AND DEMAND PRESSURES

While a variety of social factors influence the police environment, population change is perhaps most fundamental and predictable. Demographers, who study the dynamics of population growth, composition and distribution, have established a number of significant trends that will directly affect Canadian policing in the near future.

POPULATION GROWTH: APPROACHING A ZERO GROWTH RATE

Historical population trends allow us to forecast, with a resonable degree of accuracy, that the rapid population growth witnessed during the post-war baby boom has ended. Demographers suggest that the next decade will be characterized by a steadily declining growth rate, and that by the year 2000 Canada will be approaching zero growth. (Overbeek, 1980:151). Consequently, some problems associated with rapid population expansion are expected to diminish. However, lack of growth in the general Canadian population will mean a similar lack of growth in the police population. In the past, increased police manpower has been justified partly on the basis of general population increases. The present police-population ratio of 2.2 per 1,000 in Canada probably will remain tied to population growth rates, resulting in no growth in most police jurisdictions.

POPULATION COMPOSITION: AN AGING POPULATION

Canada is also experiencing a general decrease in its young adult population as the 'rejuvenation' process caused by the baby boom begins to gradually shift towards middle age (Stone and Marceau, 1977:17). The number of males in this so-called 'crime prone' (16-24 years) age group peaked in 1981 and will continue to decline well into the 1990's. (Sol. Gen., 1981:31).

The implications of this aging process for the police are numerous. With a decline in the number of 'crime prone' young adults, it is probable that there will be a related decline in criminogenic behaviour (Eckstedt, 1980). This may produce a general decrease in juvenile-related offences; in particular, street-related property offences, crimes against persons and public disorder. Recent crime statistics indicate a decrease in previous rates for these categories. While other social factors may offset this stabilizing of juvenile crime rates, it is reasonable to predict that juvenile or youth-related crime will not escalate as it has done in the past.

However, fewer younger people and an aging population will mean a significant increase in the proportion of elderly persons in Canada. Advanced medical technology and relative socio-economic prosperity during the past half-century has increased life expectancy from 61 years in 1930 to a projected 77 years by 2000 (Overbeek, 1980:152). It is expected that the proportion of elderly population will almost double by the end of this century; from 8.7% of the total population in 1976 to 17% by 2001 (Overbeek, 1980:129).

With a growing population of elderly persons, it is likely that instances of victimization of the elderly, as a target group, will increase. Recent research pertaining to the notion of 'crime fear' indicates that the elderly are particularly prone to high levels of anxiety and fear of crime. (Lindquist & Duke, 1982; Jones, 1981). Research indicates that the elderly perceive their chances of being victimized by a criminal event at a much higher rate than actual victimization data supports. However, the seriousness of an assault on an elderly person partly explains this exaggerated fear of crime. As the elderly become an increasingly vocal and politically powerful interest group, these concerns could translate into increased demands for more and perhaps different kinds of police services. A heightened concern for personal safety could result in the police being requested to provide more 'protective' and 'preventive' police services. A visible police presence in residential areas and elaborate crime prevention programs could well become more politically important than the detection and apprehension of criminal offenders in non-residential areas.

However, a large reservoir of retired yet skilled elderly people also provides opportunities for the police to gain voluntary assistance for various community-based programs. A number of successful demonstration projects (Jones, 1983) employing retired individuals have been used to assist the police in a variety of otherwise time-consuming exercises. The police can benefit by gaining additional 'free' resources and also allow elderly citizens to play a more active and productive role in the policing of their own communities.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION: THE RURAL-URBAN SHIFT

The Economic Council of Canada projects that by 1991, 88% of Canada's population will live in cities, compared to 76% in 1971. About thirty percent (29.5% in 1976) now live in three cities: Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver (Statistics Canada, 1979). Growth is predicted to continue in existing urban areas (Stone and Marceau, 1977:12), while rural areas will experience a gradual decline in population.

The general trend towards urbanization masks some specific growth patterns that are creating new kinds of police environments. Although core urban population figures remain relatively constant, the bulk of urban growth has taken place in peripheral suburban or satellite-bedroom communities within commuting distance of downtown business and shopping districts. These new communities require different kinds of policing than traditional, older urban areas. In addition, certain economic regions in Canada are predicted as growth areas while other regions are expected to experience a decline in population. New resource-based communities are predicted for Northern Canada and the East Coast, while some established industrialized communities are expected to suffer a net loss in population and economic prosperity. Again, shifting populations will create new policing demands.

Tremendous variation in the kinds of community environments in which the police operate in Canada suggest the need for flexible, community-based policing models. The correct fit between police service and public demand must be based on awareness of the specific and changing needs of a particular community. Police research must begin to develop a systematic body of comparative data which will allow an assessment of the specific demand structure in a particular type of community. Though common sense suggests that policing needs in a small rural community are different from those of a large suburban community, police tend to use models and standards for policing which are uniform and based upon urban experience. In order to define the most appropriate policing model for a community, we must have more reliable and efficient methods of determining its demand structure. Once the policing requirements of a community have been established, then the best methods for meeting these requirements can be developed.

Finally, police response to social change has traditionally been reactive. If the police are to have more impact on crime, and numerous other social problems, they must begin to play a more active part in the planning of community development and change. To postulate a more socially active and influential role for the police raises a number of questions which will be dealt with in the next section. However, analyses of the various social trends which have an impact on the police role indicate that the police must involve themselves actively in the social environment which determines their mandate. Demographic projections of course are only one example of the kind of planning information police executives can routinely use.

CRIME TRENDS AND ANALYSIS

The police function includes a host of tasks which do not fall strictly within the realm of crime control. The police have traditionally assumed as their major responsibility, crime-related matters and concentrated their resources accordingly. With increasing public attention being brought to bear on the public purse, one can reasonably predict that the effectiveness of police crime control efforts will become subject to more public scrutiny. In response, the police will be required to demonstrate a scientific and informed approach to crime control. Such an approach should be based on the following criteria:

- decision making based upon the best information available;
- thorough knowledge and understanding of crime trends;
- realistic appreciation of police crime control capacity;
- comprehensive understanding of how criminal events are related to broad, social trends.

CRIME INFORMATION: GETTING THE BEST

Credible police decision-making is largely dependent upon the 'quality' of the available information. Our present understanding of crime is limited by the quality and restricted nature of information upon which traditional crime statistics are based.

For the most part, crime data in Canada is generated through Uniform Crime Reports (U.C.R.) submitted to Statistics Canada by all police forces. However, can police executives be assured that this information is accurate and possesses sufficient explanatory validity to serve as a sound basis for informed police policy? Oosthoek (1978:31) and a number of police researchers have warned of the inherent weakness of present U.C.R. data. The statutory foundation of the series, Oothoek argues, was not to measure the extent of crime, but to operate as a basic management tool by providing a measure of police effectiveness. U.C.R. statistics are of limited value as management tools or for crime forecasting. The nature of crime data and the limits of the collection process make any exercise in crime rate prediction or analysis a largely interpretive exercise. The police, as crime recorders and users, should be committed to expanding and improving the utility of crime information. A clearly defined set of data needs would help alleviate many of the existing defintion, collection and interpretation problems. A broader, more clearly defined information base needs to be established from which urgent operational and research requirements such as crime analysis and crime forecasting can be pursued with more certainty and accuracy.

Promising new information technologies are now being explored and developed in various police departments throughout North America. These systems have the capacity to provide a much more reliable and comprehensive information base than the previous manual collection and sorting procedures. The rapid development of computerized police information systems expands the potential information available for management and operational planning. No longer restricted to the collection of crime-related U.C.R. data, these new information systems promise to transform the collection of raw information into a sophisticated intelligence process. Not only will police managers have more and better information on crime and service-related activities, but the expanded information and analysis capabilities of these systems will allow more careful scrutiny of the effectiveness of various management strategies on crime problems.

PRESENT AND FUTURE CRIME TRENDS

Acknowledging the previous discussion of the limits of crime data, general long term trends indicate that Canada is experiencing a gradual, but diminishing, escalation in per capita criminal offences. Crime data from the past decade provide us with some basis for predicting future trends.

Between 1970 and 1980:

- The number of crimes increased at a much faster rate than the growth of the Canadian population (71% vs 12%).
- Despite some annual fluctuations, crime has been increasing at a fairly constant rate (4 - 5% per annum).
- Federal Statute offences increased by 117%, Provincial Statutes by 35% and Criminal Code offences by 84%. Property offences have increased faster than violent offences (78% vs 52%).

- The number of persons charged by the police (including juveniles diverted) has increased by 77%.
- Overall police clearance rates have dropped slightly from 53% in 1970 to 48% in 1980.

(Solicitor General, 1982)

Though the dramatic crime increase of the 1970's is not anticipated to continue through the 1980's, there will nevertheless continue to be at least a gradual increase in major criminal offence categories. The ramifications of these trends are apparent. Already restricted police budgets will by necessity have to cope with increasing demands for crime control services. Until recently, police per capita numbers have grown correspondingly with rising crime rates. However, this period of unparalled growth in police resources and manpower took place during a period of financial prosperity. This present period of economic uncertainty will not see a similar growth in police resources and indeed may result in fewer resources.

In order to meet this challenge, the police will have to undergo a difficult process of reassessing traditional police goals and response strategies. Traditional costly methods of crime control may no longer be appropriate or possible given resource limitations. Police response will become largely contingent upon the "priority" needs and demands of a particular community. Police organizations that mobilize scarce police resources in alternatives and innovative strategies should be able to meet new demands. Controlling for increments in manpower and hardware, police managers will be left with little alternative but to elicit more active support from the community. This co-operative response capacity has, to date, remained relatively untapped, given the previous resources of the police. The social and economic conditions outlined indicate strongly that the incentive now exists for police to compensate for declining resource levels with enhanced community involvement in policing.

THE POLICE AND CRIME CONTROL CAPACITY

The past decade has witnessed a proliferation of academic and technical research which has greatly expanded the knowledge base available to the police. The effectiveness of police crime control efforts has been increasingly questioned by a growing body of research knowledge. For example, The Police Foundation Kansas City Patrol Experiment (Kelling, et al., 1974), suggests that traditional methods of uniformed police patrol are of limited value in deterring and detecting street level crime. The Rand Corporation report (Greenwood, et al, 1975) on the criminal investigation process in the United States and a similar study by Ericson (1981) in Canada found, among other things, that the traditional management of police investigations could not be statistically related to significant variations in crime, arrests or clearance rates (Chappell, _et al_., 1982:11). Such research findings, once regarded as threatening to the police, are now being considered by progressive police managers as a basis for organizational reform and management innovation.

Wycoff (1982b), in a comprehensive review of various research studies on police impact and crime, found that variations in force size, response time, investigative and deployment strategies had little statistically demonstrable impact on crime, arrest, conviction and clearance rates. This does not mean that police efforts are wasted, but only that they have a 'limited' impact on crime rates, as many of the factors that influence criminal events are beyond the direct control of the police. Alternatively, Wycoff (1982) argues that evaluations of police effectiveness should be based on an appraisal of those areas of criminal activity which the police can realistically be expected to have some measurable impact.

> Insofar as goals of police behaviours are also affected by other factors outside the control of the police, assessment of police accomplishment of outcomes or goals should be based on that aspect or portion of the goal which the police can reasonably be expected to affect. For example, police performance (outputs) are

> not the only variables which determine the incidence of crime. Police effectiveness should be judged against a scale defined by the greatest potential impact which police performance alone can be expected to have on the goal. (Wycoff, 1982a)

Improving the effectiveness of police resource deployment requires an understanding of the complex social elements involved in the causation of specific kinds of criminal activity. This means focusing on trends which have an impact on opportunity and guardianship as well as the traditional offender-related variables.

CRIME ANALYSIS AND SOCIAL TRENDS

The tendency to describe a broad range of events and acts as simply 'crime', tends to obscure significant differences in the substantive nature of various kinds of criminal activities. The police are well aware that different kinds of crime have distinctive features making their prevention, deterrence and clearance subject to different kinds of police strategies. However, our explanatory theories of crime and crime analysis often fail to make these crucial distinctions, resulting in an exclusively 'offender'-focused analysis. This approach fails to take into account how social trends also have an impact on the 'victims' or 'targets' of criminal activity. These factors are particularly critical in what has been called 'rational-predatory crimes', such as property and street crimes.

The recent development of a more comprehensive and complete theory of predatory crime demonstrates why traditional variables used to explain crime have often been inadequate. A promising new theoretical approach to crime analysis called Routine Activity Theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979) argues that predatory crime can best be explained and predicted by examining three interrelated crime variables.

- a motivated offender;
- a suitable target; and,
- the absence of effective guardianship against a violation.

The absence of any of the these three factors will be sufficient to prevent the successful completion of a criminal act. Cohen & Felson (1979:593) contend that since World War II there has been a major shift in routine public activities away from the home into work and extra curricular settings. This shift in the structure of routine public activities has dramatically increased the absence of capable home guardianship and enhanced the availability of suitable crime targets; consequently increasing the probability of increased predatory crimes. Given the constant presence of motivated offenders in a society, and the increasing availability of suitable and now unprotected crime targets, it is inevitable that predatory crimes will increase.

> ...the routine activity framework may prove useful in explaining why the criminal justice system (including the police), the community, and the family have appeared so ineffective in exerting social control. Substantial increases in the opportunity to carry out predatory violations may have undermined society's mechanisms for social control. For example, it may be difficult for institutions seeking to increase the certainty, celerity and severity of punishment to compete with structural changes resulting in vast increases in the certainty, celerity and value of rewards to be gained from illegal predatory acts. (Cohen & Felson, 1979:605)

Thus, Cohen & Felson argue that the dramatic increase in opportunities and rewards for crime inevitably offset police efforts to increase the 'costs' of such criminal activity.

An analysis of crime problems within the routine activity framework suggests that police efforts to control crime should become more focused on change in all of three basic elements required for a successful criminal event. The following social trends affect all three crime-related variable and provide a more comprehensive basis for crime analysis and the planning of appropriate police intervention strategies.

1) Motivated Offenders:

   - economic deprivation and unemployment will increase the potential offender population, i.e., young males;
   - an increasing number of persons of both sexes (of various socio-economic classes) who will perceive potential gain in times of hardship.

2) Target Suitability:

- advanced technology causing increase and availability of consumer durables (cars, T.V.'s, etc.);
- consumer commodities becoming increasingly compact, portable, lightweight, unidentifiable, saleable;
- relative affluence increasing the number of persons who can own/control such goods and the quantity which is accumulated;
- increased out-of-home activity causes prople to travel with and accumulate valuables for work and leisure.

3) Community Guardianship:

- reduced family/household size decreases the likelihood of someone being home;
- working mothers and use of child care facilities leave fewer traditional home guardians;
- increased vacation, leisure time, mobility, and use of public facilities; increases potential available quantity of crime targets.

Police intervention strategies, based on an appraisal of these trends, will allow the police to focus their attention and resources where they believe they can get the most for their money. Offender policing for some crimes may offer only limited results, while crime prevention strategies which have an impact on guardianship and target availability may prove much more successful.

It appears likely that the police will have to adopt a more comprehensive strategy to assist them in efficient deployment of resources to meet shifting demand structures. The 'routine activity framework' has been offered as an example of the kind of knowledge base required for such a strategy. However, in the long run it may be that the police, despite valiant attempts to control crime, will be forced to accept marginal gains in effectiveness and impact; given the inevitability of criminal opportunity as the price society seems willing to pay for social freedom and mobility. This being the case, a broader definition of the police crime control role would seem to be necessary, given that crime is only one of a number of tasks the police are asked to deal with.

> ...the opportunity for predatory crime appears to be enmeshed in the opportunity structure for legitimate activities to such an extent that it might be very difficult to root out substantial amounts of crime without modifying much of our way of life. Rather than assuming that predatory crime is simply an indicator of social breakdown, one might take it as a by-product of freedom and prosperity as they manifest themselves in the routine activities of everyday life. (Cohen & Felson, 1979:605)

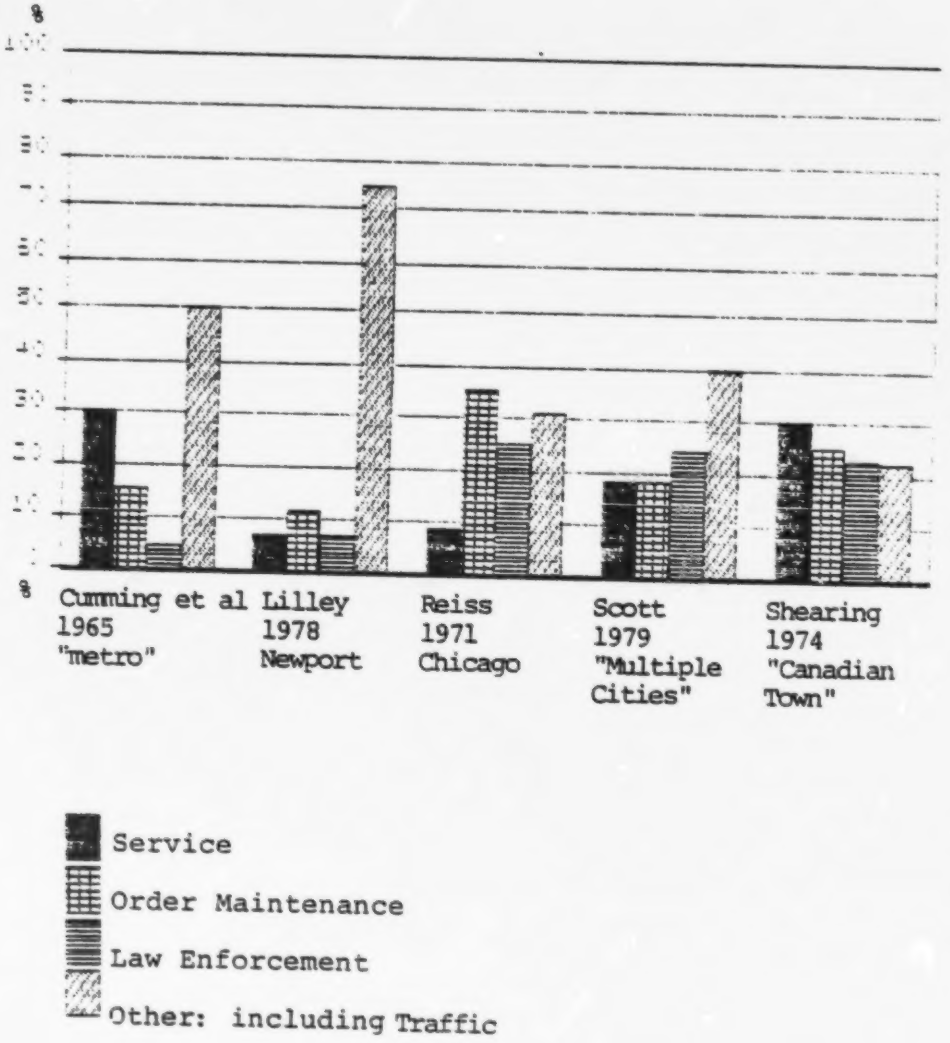
PUBLIC DEMAND FOR NON-CRIME SERVICES

The 'received' mandate of the police (Manning, 1977), or the tasks assigned to the police by the public, indicate that crime control is only part of a broader public definition of the police role. Why people call the police determines to a great extent the actual nature of police work. Research has established that the majority of incidents to which the police respond are reactive; that is, initiated by citizens rather than the police themselves (Reiss, 1971). The bulk of these incidents can be loosely categorized non-criminal in nature. Such findings serve as a strong empirical 'statement' on what the public believes the police should do.

A review of comparative data from five studies, presented in Figure A, will allow us to make some general observations about the kinds of duties which the police actually perform (Wycoff, 1982b:56).

Figure A

DISTRIBUTION OF CALLS RECEIVED BY TYPE OF CALL*



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* Data adapted from Wycoff (1982:56)

Though there is diversity within these research findings, in part a product of definitional differences, in three of the five studies the percentage of 'order maintenance' calls is greater than the percentage of law enforcement or crime related calls. In all cases, the combined percentage of service and order maintenance calls is greater than the percentage of crime-related calls. These findings are consistent with those found in a recent Canadian Study (Duttons & Levens: 1980) in Vancouver. An analysis of tape recordings of calls for service and police department records, found that 47 per cent of the calls and 49 per cent of patrol officers' time was devoted to 'social service' duties.

Thus, research establishes clearly that a substantial portion of police work is devoted to non-crime activity. It is important to note that there is reason to believe that the demands for non-crime services will escalate at an even faster rate than demands for crime-related services. Recent research results from two American cities found that during a nine-year period (1970-78 inclusive) that there was little yearly fluctuation in response to crime calls (Mastrofski, 1982:15). Response to crime calls increased by less than one percent during the study period. However, response to non-crime calls increased at approximately three percent per annum. If this annual rate of increase is maintained until

1988, non-crime calls will have risen by 36 per cent and doubled by the turn of the century. In contrast, crime calls will have risen by only eight per cent and 19 per cent by the turn of the century. As this growth pattern persisted despite a 12 per cent reduction in population, it is conceivable that areas with either stable or growing populations will experience an even greater demand for non-crime services. General social trends towards increasing urbanization and new limitations on police resources suggest this could present a potentially serious problem for the future allocation of police resources.

Police involvement in the provision of non-crime services is one of the most problematic issues facing contemporary policing. Grant (1980:12), in a recent policy paper on Canadian policing, singles out this area of police activity for further research and analysis:

> This vast area of police activity clearly calls out for re-appraisal. Is it that the police are trained essentially as the preventers and detectors of crime and are then deployed on many menial tasks for which they are over-qualified and which could be dealt with less expensively by other means? Is it that public expectations of the availability of police response have been allowed to grow to an extent which can no longer be justified or afforded? Or is it that the helping and referral role cannot be so extricated from the prevention and detection roles and that all such contacts with citizens improve police-citizen relations and provide valuable opportunities for police to assess appropriate responses to perceived needs in the community?

While resolution of this issue is dependent upon the role police are expected to play in a society, it is instructive to examine why people call the police for these activities in the first place.

Citizens call the police because the police have 'unique' access to the law and its sanctioned use of force, to intervene and arbitrate in incidents where social control and disorder are threatened (Bittner, 1970; Shearing and Leon, 1977; Ericson, 1981; Mastrofski, 1982; Wilson & Kelling, 1982). This unique power explains, in many instances, why the police are called and not social workers, priests, family members, etc. Thus non-crime incidents cannot simply be regarded as peripheral elements of the police role, nor can they be accurately classified as social work activities. Social order, social control, and dispute settlements have always been the essence of the police function and elimination of these functions means dramatically altering a well-established social role of policing.

However, faced with persistent and growing demands for order and service responses and diminishing fiscal resources to meet these demands, the police are faced with a major resource dilemma. Elimination or reduction of non-crime duties runs the risk of conflicting with well established public expectations. Attempts to define non-crime requests as non-police activities may produce an unacceptably narrow and unfavourable role for public policing. Koenig (1982) argues persuasively that the temptation to concentrate on crime control pursuits, at the expense of non-crime services will cause the police to be increasingly viewed as aggressive and obtrusive enforcement figures resulting in undermining the vital social co-operation upon which effective policing is based.

> Such an erosion (already somewhat evident) would lead to a relative diminution of the police presence and in fact to a withdrawal of the police function to the point where little would be left beyond coercive control of some illicit citizen behaviours and the apprehension of offenders. No longer a friend of the public, the police would become an alien force in the community...a return, ironically, to the very state of affairs which prompted, Sir Robert Peel to the invention of modern policing. In short, if the police are seen as oppressors or outsiders, widespread distrust and animosity towards them and a lack of support and co-operation from the community in which they work will prevent the accomplishment of even the very limited tasks left to them!
>
> (Koenig, 1982:68)

However, the issue remains, how do the police do all that is expected of them with fewer resources? Collaboration between the police and the community, especially its social service agencies, may offer some alternative to traditional response strategies. Clearly, the police should no longer try to be all things to all people.

The police should engage other organizations with responsibility for community services and control (media, schools, churches, housing authorities, social workers, etc.) in the development of co-operative and co-ordinated policing strategies.

Another option is for the police to begin to carefully establish their organizational priorities and rationally allocate their resources accordingly. Grant (1980:12) contends that police managers who continue to organize their resources by unquestioning response to service calls are delegating their management prerogative to whichever citizens choose to call for assistance. The first requisite, he argues, is to analyze the totality of calls for service and establish a set of priorities, bearing in mind that this must be a collaborative process involving all levels of the police organization and community alike. Recent research has indicated that the community is responsive and flexible regarding alternative measures to traditional wholesale police response. For example, public expectations regarding police response time (Pate, 1976) can be modified as long as the police convey accurate and timely information to the public based on workload priorities. A variety of alternative response strategies have met with favourable results in trial programs. 'Non-dispatch' responses to complaints (crime and noncrime) such as phone, walk-in and mail-in complaints, etc., have all proven successful with appropriate community consultation. (Cahn & Tien, 1981; Farmer, 1981; Maxfield, 1982). In keeping with Grant's (1980) earlier observation these efforts maximize the police manager's role in controlling and priorizing calls for service, regardless of whether they are crime or non-crime matters. Such strategies, when conveyed properly to the community, promise more proactive police decision making and more effective use of police resources.

A co-operative management approach in redefining police services and sharing police responsibility with the community offers the police an alternative to the simple 'reduction' scenario. For the police to unilaterally decide that the community at large must accept responsibility for its own 'baby-sitting' chores and sundry other 'trivial non-crime matters', while they get on with the task at hand (i.e. crime control), would be counter-productive. Unless the response ability of a community is well established, such a transfer would simply result in neglect and increasing levels of community disorder.

Future sections of this paper will elucidate the fundamental nature of the police role which the authors believe makes it essential for the police to continue to refine their non-crime services. Though important decisions must be made regarding what the police shall and shall not do, so little is actually known about the 'grey areas' of order maintenance and service functions, that one would be well advised to proceed with caution. Whatever decisions are made regarding prioritization of calls for service and allocation of police resources, it is critical that a collaborative process with the community be developed which will allow police and community needs to be established jointly and co-operatively.

SUMMARY

The previous discussion of the community environment of Canadian policing indicates that policing is at a critical stage in its development. Changing social, economic and demographic forces in Canadian society are producing increasing levels of demand for all police services. The current climate of fiscal restraint in government spending means fewer police resources to meet these demands. Political and public expectations suggest heightened levels of public scrutiny and political involvement. In short, the police are facing a variety of pressures which suggest a need to re-examine present philosophies and response strategies.

That policing will change seems beyond question. How it will change and who will manage that change are questions that will be answered by the success or failure of police efforts to deliver cost-effective and efficient police services in accordance with public expectations. Responding to new demands with old solutions will mean a gradual diminishing of the present police role and a further reduction of its importance in the collective enterprise of policing. Doing more with less is surely preferable to simply doing less.

The alternative, and the authors would argue the preferable option for policing, is to regard the problems of the 1980's as a mandate for police innovation and reform.

This discussion paper argues that the most promising answers to these problems lie in the development of community-based policing strategies which attempt to harness the undeveloped potential of communities and police alike to participate more actively in policing their own communities. What community-based policing means in terms of the traditional role of the police, the management and planning of policing strategies and the operational practices of routine police work is the focus of the rest of the paper.

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CHAPTER II - THE ROLE OF THE POLICE: THE CASE FOR COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING

INTRODUCTION

To the pragmatic police manager, lengthy discussion of the police role may appear to be an unnecessary academic exercise and devoid of practical implications. However, all organizations, particularly social service organizations like the police, operate on the basis of certain assumptions about their role in society. Whether spelled out in formal policy statements or implied through routine management decisions, a working concept of the police role guides, in various ways, the entire operation of a police department. For example, adopting a particular philosophy of the police role determines issues such as: which calls the police department should respond to; how police resources should be deployed; what kinds of training and technology a department requires; which criteria should be used to evaluate police performances, etc. At the individual level, every policeman has developed an operational understanding of his role. This allows him to react routinely and confidently to a complex variety of problem situations and events in a reasonably predictable and routine fashion. Thus, in discussing the police role we are in effect defining the fundamental nature of police work, its organizational objectives, social responsibilities and response priorities.

If there was general consensus as to what the role of the police should be, there would be little need to discuss this issue further. However, numerous government commissions, public surveys, academic articles and police statements indicate there is little agreement on either the parameters of the police role or its specific social objectives. Since the introduction of policing by Peel in 1829, the role of the police has been subject to ongoing debate, modification and legislation. Currently, North American policing is dominated by the so-called 'crime-fighting' philosophy of police work in which the primary purpose of policing is the control of criminal activity in society. However, this particular definition of the police role is being challenged by a growing body of critical research which raises doubts about its utility and the development of community-based models of policing in which the police play a broader social role in the co-production of public safety and order.

This section of the report attempts to provide a clear understanding of the fundamental principles of the community-based philosophy of policing. A comprehensive review of the research findings on the realities of the present police role in society is undertaken in order to provide a factual basis for subsequent discussion of role alternatives. Discussion of empirical data describing the nature and composition of police activities generates critical examination of the distinctive and unique properties of police work. Police role alternatives, crime control and community-based policing philosophies are critically compared. The development of a consistent community-based philosophy of policing is then derived from a diverse body of policing literature and research. Five central and distinctive community-based principles are identified as fundamental to the community-based policing model. These key principles distinguish community-based policing from the crime control model and provide a theoretical basis for subsequent chapters on management and operational tactics and techniques.

THE POLICE ROLE: REALITIES AND PERCEPTIONS

Any discussion of what kinds of tasks or activities the police 'should' do must be based on a realistic understanding of what the police 'actually' do and what they are 'expected' to do by those who request their services. Fortunately, a great deal of research, using a variety of methods, has allowed us to gain a much clearer insight into the range and distribution of tasks performed by the police. Detailed analysis of police dispatch responses, systematic observations of routine patrol activity and police log analysis presents us with a relatively objective basis for further discussion.[1]

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[1] The authors acknowledge the excellent work of Mary Ann Wycoff and associates, for having provided much of the structure and substance of this discussion. Readers are encouraged to avail themselves of this most thorough and exhaustive review of recent empirical literature. (Wycoff, 1982)

REALITIES: FACTS ABOUT WHAT THE POLICE DO

Data about the kinds of situations that the police handle can be gathered and analysed in terms of the following primary sources of information; police dispatches, officers activity logs and observations of police activity.

Police Dispatch Studies:

Figure 'A' summarizes general findings from a series of studies of dispatched calls.2 It is apparent from the findings of these studies that the police respond to a surprisingly diverse range of public concerns and needs. Crime-related (law enforcement) dispatches constitute from 10.0% to 38.0% of the total calls dispatched, while the percentage of order maintenance calls range from 25.5% to 35.0%, with service calls estimated from 6.0% to 38.0%. Thus, it would appear that the combined percentages of order maintenance and service dispatches exceed the percentage of law enforcement dispatches.3 This is consistent with

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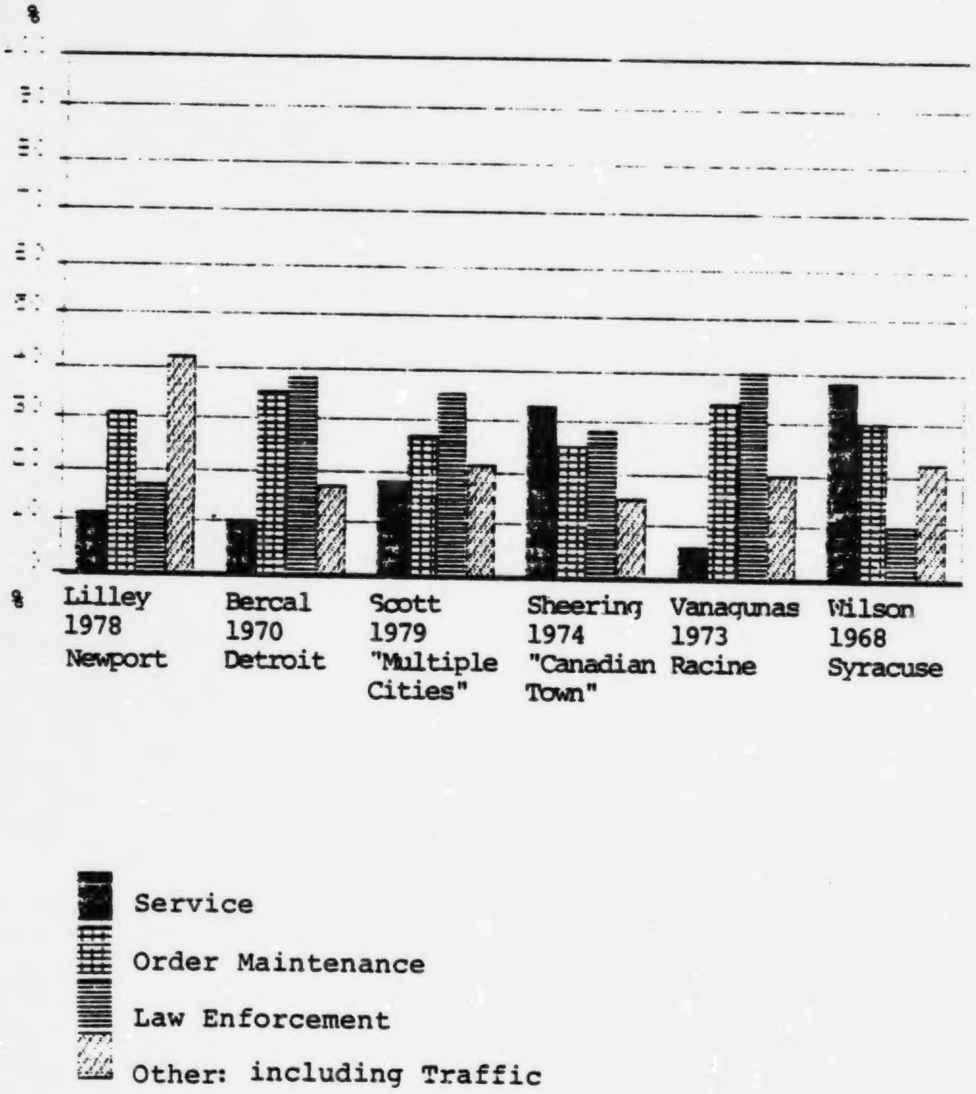
[2] Studies dealing with Calls Dispatched should not be confused with studies of Calls Received (from citizens).

[3] Some important caveats are appropriate here: dispatch procedures can be greatly affected by local Force policy; the existence of a '911 Emergency' facility will invariably affect the quantity and nature of calls from the public; 'calls dispatched' studies fail to tell us about requests for service for which dispatches are not made. Lilley (1978) and Scott (1979) indicate that, approximately 50% of calls coded as 'service requests' may not be dispatched. Research methodologies differ regarding coding categories, task environment and time of year, etc.

Figure A

DISTRIBUTION OF CALLS DISPATCHED BY TYPE*



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* Data adapted from Wycoff (1982:10)

various descriptive accounts of general duty patrol work which also indicate the predominance of noncrime functions within the police role. (Cumming et al, 1965; Wilson, 1968; Reiss, 1971; Bercal, 1970; Ericson, 1982). However, as research (Reiss, 1971) indicates that a relatively small proportion of patrol time (14%) may be actively involved in responding to calls, we will need other kinds of information to address the total picture.

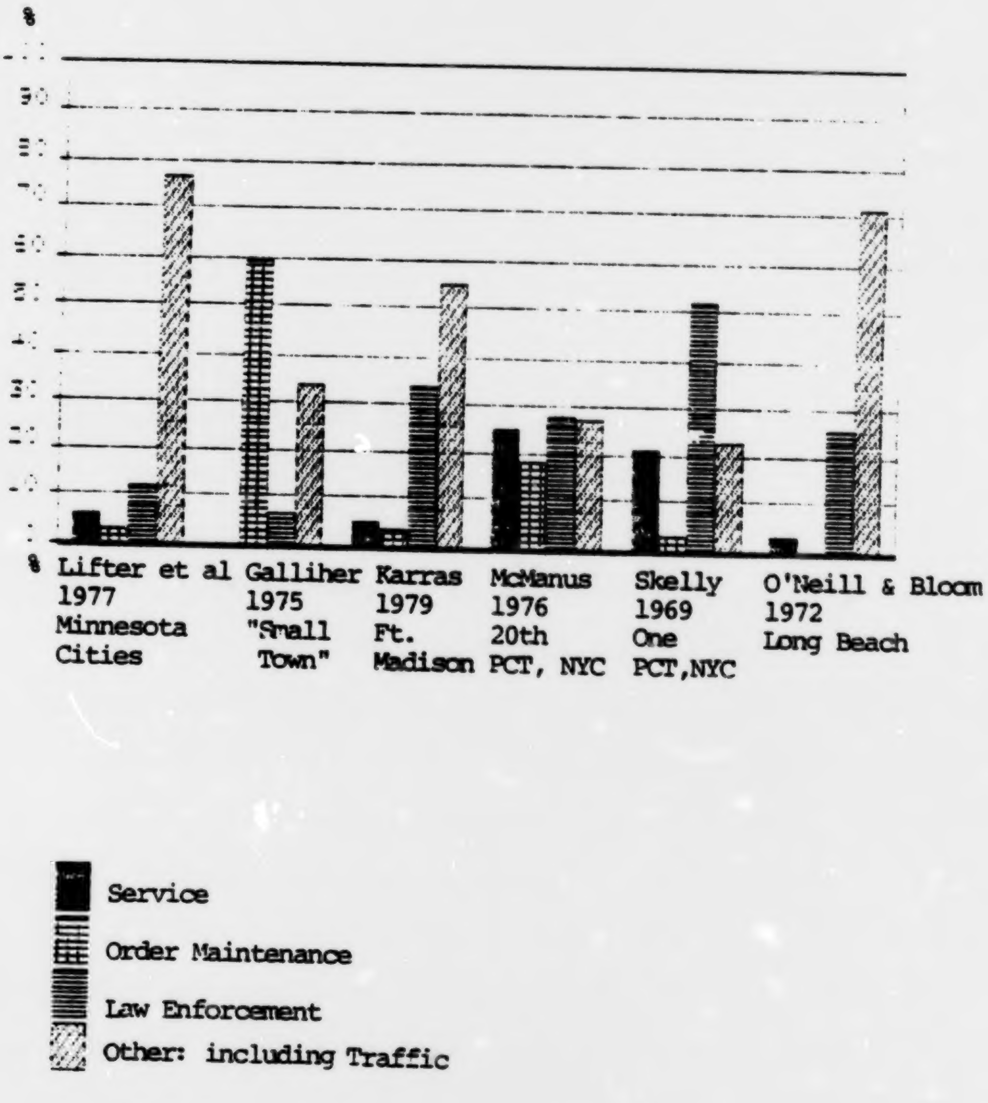
Figure 'B' presents general findings from a series of studies involving direct field observation of police activity and analysis of police activity logs.

The findings from police activity logs are consistent with those reported by the police dispatch studies. The general duty patrolman spends less than one third of his time handling crime-related issues. The bulk of police time is relegated to non-crime or 'other' activities such as assistance to public, information giving and general order maintenance duties.

Observational studies, in which the patrol policeman is observed over the course of his daily activities, provides us with the most complete picture of police work. (See Table 'A'). Observational studies reveal that much routine police work is basically unstructured. Kelling, _et al_.,(1974), for example, found that approximately 60% of patrol time was uncommitted to any specific task or activity. This time was justified as general preventive patrol or being in a state of readiness to respond to requests for service. This research also found that 25% of patrol time was spent on activities unrelated to policing. Kelling findings were substantiated in similar research by Cordner (1978).

Figure B

DISTRIBUTION OF PATROL TIME BY CATEGORY OF ACTIVITIES*



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* Data adapted from Wycoff (1982:56)

TABLE A

ANALYSES OF THE USE OF UNCOMMITTED PATROL TIME
Observation Studies

Author, Year, Location	Police-Related	Non police-Related	Residual	Total Unstructured Patrol Time	% of Total Patrol Time Uncommitted	Total Patrol Time Observed
Cordner, Published 1978 Lansing Mich. 1977*	45.54	34.40	20.06	100.0	54.7	160 hrs
Kelling, et. al., Published 1974 Kansas City, Mo.1973*	49.55	25.47	24.98	100.0	60.31	1230 hrs

* The date indicates the year in which the data were collected.

While the amount of unstructured patrol time will vary in accordance with a variety of factors such as department policy, patrol environment, internal accountability, etc., the fact remains that a large portion of police time is spent, waiting or looking for something to happen. What is most noteworthy in these statistics is that there exists a significant portion of police time that could potentially be used in alternative ways other than random patrol.

What can we say from these studies, about the realities of police work? First, it seems clear that the police engage in a wide variety of activities other than strict law enforcement. Second, it appears that these non-crime activities absorb the bulk of police activity and finally, it appears that much police time is spent in a relatively unstructured fashion. The police role from these facts, can be described as being diverse, complex and loosely structured.

PERCEPTIONS: PUBLIC AND POLICE BELIEFS ABOUT WHAT THE POLICE DO

As important as describing what the police actually do are the beliefs or perception by the police and the public about what the police do. Reviewing studies that examine descriptions and preferences about what the police do, allows us to deal with similarities and differences which may exist between role realities and role perceptions. Any attempt to alter the definition of the police role must be based on an understanding of what the public and the police themselves think is the correct role or nature of police work. The following, then, is a summary of the general findings from a variety of studies reviewed by Wycoff (1982).

Descriptions of Police Work

A number of studies asked police officers to recall the frequency which they performed various types of activities. The findings can be summarized as follows:

- in general, officers reported they dealt more with order-related situations than with crime against property or persons. Although they believed they dealt with actual crimes, infrequently they reported often dealing with suspicious circumstances or situations with a propensity for crime.
- these studies did indicate a larger proportion of time spent on crime-related activities than do patrol log observation studies.

(Glickman, et al., 1976 Jeanneret & Dubin, 1977; Lowe, et al., 1977)

It is interesting that although the police and the media often represent police work as typically crime-related activity, police officers estimate accurately the proportion of non-crime work. This indicates that the police have an accurate perception of the realities of police work. Unfortunately, there have been no studies of the public which might reveal discrepancies in public perceptions of the nature of police work.

Preferences: What the Police Should Do

Studies based on analysis of telephone requests for police service can also be seen as indicative of what callers believe the police 'should' do. These studies tell us something about public expectations and definitions of the police role. The findings from these studies suggest the following:

- there is a general tendency for calls labelled 'law enforcement' to be less than those labelled 'order maintenance'. Combined 'order maintenance' and 'service' calls greatly outnumber 'law enforcement' calls;
- studies indicate that people who call the police believe the police should handle a number of diverse situations and that citizens have complex expectations of the police;
- data indicates that there are notable differences by neighbourhood (race, income, etc.) and by community size. Citizens want the police to handle many types of situations but do not necessarily share common beliefs about what these situations should be.

(Cumming et. al., 1965; Lilley, 1978; Reiss, 1971; Scott, 1979; Shearing, 1977)

Studies which ask police officers whether particular problems, situations, or requests ought to be acknowledged as part of the police role, reveal surprisingly similar results:

- there is an indication by a large percentage of respondents (63% to 70%) across studies that 'helping people with problems should be an important part of police work.' Agreement with this belief was found to increase notably with years of service (1 year to 10 years);
- in general it was found that policemen take a broad view of their role; believing that it should be responsive to crime yet open to problems of individual and community welfare.

(Kelling, 1974; Wycoff & Kelling, 1978)

In general, when crime-related and non-crime related functions are considered, both citizens and the police rate crime functions as more appropriate or more important than non-crime functions (Wycoff, 1982:67). There is striking agreement in the beliefs of both citizens and police that the police role properly includes the capability of recognizing and handling persons with emotional disorders, being able to resolve domestic disputes in a way that will not damage the family unit, and having the capacity to participate in community relations and education programs (Smith, 1972a, 1972b). Both citizens and police tend to agree that certain tasks within the non-crime function are less important, i.e., landlord-tenant disputes, barking dogs, etc. Wycoff (1982:73) describes the results of this body of research as follows:

> ...available data do not reveal dramatic disparities between what the police actually do, what police believe they do (there was no information about what citizens believe police do) and what citizens and police believe the police should do. In reality, the role of Municipal police is diverse. Police officers describe it that way and both police and citizens seem to believe that is the way the role should be.

Wycoff goes on to note that both citizens and police respondents assign levels of importance to crime-related tasks which may seem disproportionate to the frequency with which these tasks are performed. This is not surprising if we accept, as Wycoff does (1982:74), that crime is 'potentially symbolic of personal threat and community deterioration'. It follows that crime-related tasks will be consistently rated as the most important police tasks. This is not to say, of course, that other tasks are unimportant; indeed both the police and the public recognize and accept that most service and order maintenance requests are legitimate responsibilities of the police.

DEFINING A UNIQUE ROLE FOR THE POLICE

The previous empirical findings suggest a broad range of objectives and policing functions are seen by the public as legitimate elements of the police role. The police, as an agency of formal social control, have a broad socially defined mandate to maintain public order. However, this broad and complex social role makes it difficult to distinguish the police from other social control institutions and agencies in society. This raises important fundamental questions. What is unique to police work and do the police differ from other social control institutions? For example, some police literature argues that community-based policing models attempt to turn policemen into social workers, councillors, therapists, etc. Confusion about the appropriate role of the police, given the common concerns shared between social problem agencies, suggests a need to develop some basis for identifying distinctive elements of the police role.

Recent analysis of the police role (Bittner, 1974; Shearing & Leon, 1977) suggests that two unique and interrelated elements of the police role distinguish the police from other agencies of social control; i.e., the legitimate capacity and authority to use coercive force and unique access to law. These two institutional qualities explain the diversity of the police function and provide a basis for clarifying the essence of the police role.

In civil societies, the private use of force, or the process of coercing someone to do something against his or her will, is strictly controlled. Force, to be justified at all, can only be rationalized as a response to some form of serious threat or perceived threat. Our society recognizes as legitimate three basic forms of responsive force (Bittner, 1970:36). First, citizens are authorized to use force for the purpose of self-defence. Secondly, society designates agents who are entrusted with limited powers to proceed coercively against specific named persons. Such agents would include custodial and regulatory personnel (i.e., mental hospitals, prisons) who may have occasion to exercise force against named persons remanded into their care. And finally, the use of responsive force is authorized and entrusted to the police. Unlike cases of self-defence and the limited authorization of custodians, the authorization for the police to use coercive force is liberal in application and is part of the discretionary power of all serving policemen. It is this unique access to the relatively unrestricted use of coercive force that comprises the essence of the police role (Brown, 1981; Muir, 1977; Weiner, 1976; Bittner, 1970; Bittner, 1974; Rumbault & Bittner, 1979; Shearing & Leon, 1977; Goldstein, 1977).

In addition, the law gives the police the necessary legitimacy and authority to use coercive force in achieving general social order. This also distinguishes the police from the general citizenry and other social control agencies. The police, as a consequence, are not just 'problem solvers' but are 'problem solvers who have a special access to law enforcement'. Shearing & Leon (1977) contend that a definitive understanding of the police role requires a recognition of the exclusive authority vested in police by their law enforcement powers. Thus, the combined role characteristic of the legitimate use of force and law enforcement authority, distinguishes the unique essence of police work.

The authority and ability of the police to intervene in problem or conflict situations and impose legal remedies that are non-negotiable, (Bittner, 1970:41) gives the police a unique function in problem solving. It is this aspect of the police role which is foremost in the minds of people who ask for police assistance. The police have been granted this power and authority by society in order to address a broad range of human problems in need of some form of social regulation. This explains police involvement in such diverse tasks as proceeding against criminals, evicting drunks, directing traffic, controlling crowds, caring for the very young and very old, administering first aid, settling domestic altercations and so on (Brown, 1977; Bittner, 1970; Rumbault & Bittner, 1979).

As we have restricted the rights of the public to use force, the police naturally become the only agency to which individuals can legally turn, when implied or explicit use of force is required to prevent or resolve some form of social conflict. The wide range of problem solving activities that accrue to the police, make sense when we realize that it is their exclusive and legally sanctioned access to law and coercion that explains their participation. Thus, the argument that various order maintenance and social service functions that the police are regularly asked to perform should not be part of the police role, loses sight of the fact that it is the unique access to force and law that is being requested and not police skills as social workers, psychologist, first aid, etc.

Typically, the police become involved in situations that are perceived by the caller to be in need of the crisis-ordering capacity of the police. The police, for their part, rarely possess sufficient knowledge until they have responded to an event, to define an incident as not requiring police intervention. The perception of the caller defines the incident until the police have arrived. What this suggests is that the police will always have a broad initial response function as long as they are dependent upon citizens' calls for service. Given their broad powers regarding crisis intervention and the lack of power and capacity of other helping agencies, these crisis and order problems will naturally fall to the police. Thus, instead of arguing that these diverse functions are simply assigned to the police because of their twenty-four hour availability, it could be argued that it is because of the unique power of the police that they are a twenty-four hour service. The police have evolved into a twenty-four hour emergency, crisis control service (Bittner, 1970) precisely because they have unique and exclusive access to the legal use of force in dealing with a wide variety of crisis situations.

Any attempt to re-define what role the police should play or what activities could be eliminated from their mandate must address the relationship between the need for threatened or implied force in an all crime and non-crime problem situations and police responsibility for its delivery. The authors would argue that the police role in problem situations or crisis events should be related to this unique coercive capacity. If legal coercion in some form is required, then it is by definition police work. If coercive force or law enforcement is irrelevant to problem solution, then alternative agencies may be more appropriate.

The police, because of their unique legal powers, will always be confronted with situations which will require broad initial police intervention. These situations may be subsequently redefined by the police as not requiring their unique skills or capacities, making them an agency of problem classification and referral. Thus, police can be seen as both authority brokers and gatekeepers either to the social service network of a community or its criminal justice system. The conflict inherent in certain social problems and the exclusive authority and power of the police to deal with them, make it inevitable that the police will be the 'agency of choice' in most crisis situations. This is a reality that must be understood in any attempt to redefine the role of the police or change the basic nature of police work itself. Thus, reformers must understand that little of what the police do is accidental or unintended. The police are granted broad exclusive powers by society to be used for diverse "social ordering" purposes. Any redefinition of the police role that narrows these responsibilities will have to include either a reduction of existing broad police powers or share this power with other social agencies which will be required to meet new demands.

The following discussion on police role alternatives is, in effect, a debate over the rejection or acceptance of the diverse social role of modern policing. Crime control advocates an emphasis on crime-related aspects of the police mandate, while community-based policing accepts the reality of the present police role and attempts to integrate it into a broader policing philosophy. The previous analysis of the realities and distinctive qualities of police work should be kept in mind when assessing the viability and feasibility of crime control or community-based policing.

ROLE OPTIONS: CRIME CONTROL AND COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING

Two basic philosophies dominate the current debate over the police role. On one side, proponents argue that the central mission of policing is the control of crime and that the essence of police work is criminal law enforcement. The other side argues that the role of the police should be to maintain peace, order and security in society and that law enforcement is only one of a number of important police problem solving services.

In order to clarify the differences between the two policing philosophies, an abstract version of both models is presented for comparison. Though crime control and community-based policing are often described as polar opposites or mutually exclusive philosophies, the essential issue is basically a matter of emphasis. Real world conditions require police departments to balance their resources and priorities in relation to both crime control and community based policing strategies. Community-based policing can be seen as an argument for shifting or modifying this balance towards broader role functions and community-oriented policing objectives. The central issue is whether community-based policing offers a better way to use existing police resources to meet new policing needs and changing public expectations.

CRIME CONTROL POLICING

At one end of the range of police roles is what may be called the 'crime fighting role' or the crime control model of policing. The crime fighting role is perhaps the position most closely identified by the police themselves in various public statements and research findings. The crime control role suggests that the ultimate and most important objective of policing is the suppression and control of illegal activity. This is accomplished through the vigorous enforcement of the law which provides an authoritative basis for police activity. The focus of police activities is primarily on the apprehension of criminals and detection of crime through various investigative techniques and methods of law enforcement.

The control of crime is seen as an exclusive responsibility of the police. The police are first and foremost identified as an agency of the criminal justice system. The law is said to invest the police with unique power and authority, making them responsible to the law in theory and the criminal justice system in practice. As an agency of the criminal justice system, police work is defined as law enforcement. Thus, the police are responsible to the law and the courts first, and to the community second. As the law must be enforced impartially and without personal consideration, the crime control model encourages a clear separation between the police and the 'political community.' The community has a supportive, but not influential, role in determining police policies because the police mandate is thought to guarantee police independence from external influence in all areas related to law enforcement. As law enforcement defines the nature of police work in a crime control police organization, this leaves little room for community involvement in police policy making. Thus, the crime fighting role places the onus on police administration to determine overall policing policies and operational priorities and not the community.

The organization and management of a police department based on the crime control role will reflect in its organizational policies and practices a preoccupation with crime-related functions. While other activities such as order maintenance and social services will be carried out, they will be accorded marginal status in relation to crime-related activities functions. When forced to set priorities for police activities and cut police services, non-crime services will be the first to go, as they are considered less important than crime-related police resources. Operational emphasis will be focused on motorized patrol, criminal investigation and high-profile, specialized crime units. Thus, formal organization and operations reflect a crime control philosophy. Emphasis on technology aimed at enhancing the crime fighting capacity of the department will encourage crime response time, aggressive weaponry and sophisticated crime information systems. Police education and training will reflect a desire to instill a high level of crime-related police skills. Training courses aimed at enhancing criminal apprehension and detection skills will be viewed as being more important than those stressing social and interpersonal skills which would have an impact on non-crime services.

Generally speaking, the organization will evaluate its performance and its efficiency by emphasizing production of various kinds of quantitative measures of crime, such as crime rates, clearance rates, criminal code case loads, arrest and conviction rates, etc. Little concern or effort will be expended on measuring or evaluating activities related to non-crime police work, as these are not seen as an important part of policing.

On an individual level, the police officer sees himself first and foremost as a law enforcer or crime fighter.

'Real' police work is crime-related and all other police activities will be considered secondary or incidental. Police-citizen encounters, either proactively or reactively mobilized, will be regarded primarily as opportunities to enforce the law. Formal rather than informal intervention will be preferred as the full enforcement ideal is pursued in as much as it is practical. Minimizing individual discretion through strict internal disciplinary rules and encouraging legal rather than informal dispute settlement protects the police officer and the department from the allegations of corrupt or unequal enforcement. A crime fighting role philosophy tends to promote a distinctive 'legalistic' enforcement policing style which, on an individual level, mirrors the organization's preoccupation with its crime control mandate.

In reality, few police departments can function purely as crime fighting organizations. The previous descriptive model does, however, distinguish organizational and operational priorities as crime focused. This crime control emphasis is heavily influenced by the U.S. urban police experience, but has also influenced contemporary police thinking in Canada. The public position taken by many members of the police community, politicians and some academics, suggests that the crime control role of the police may have to be emphasized even more so, in light of government pressures to reduce police expenditures. Adopting a crime fighting definition of the police role allows police resources to focus on crime related activities and reduce resources in areas that fall outside this definition, i.e., social services, crime prevention, etc.

Given the unique power and capacity of the police to deal with crime and increased public fear of criminal victimization, it is understandable why the police have tended to move towards this definition of their primary role. However, a growing body of criticism of the crime fighting role conception has developed over the past ten years, providing an incentive for the development of alternative community-based policing philosophies. As these criticisms are central to an understanding of the development of the community-based role alternative, we will examine them in some detail.

CRITICISMS OF THE CRIME CONTROL ROLE MODEL OF POLICING

The Crime Control Role Model Is A Narrow Definition of The Original Police Mandate

A number of critics of the crime fighting model of policing argue that the recent emphasis on law enforcement and crime control has distorted the original broad social function of policing. Historical analysis of policing both in Canada and the U.S. suggests that the original mandate of the police emphasized a wide variety of general policing responsibilities whose primary purpose was the general maintenance of public peace and order; not simply the control of crime. The police role, they argue, was created as an extension of the community watch function and the individual policeman was meant to serve as general 'peace keepers' or all purpose order maintainers. (Banton, 1964; Stenning, 1982).

A narrower definition of the police role evolved in response to urban political reform, as the police sought to distance themselves from partisan political control. Police reform, stressing administrative control and police professionalism, promised effective internal regulation and bureaucratic efficiency. The identification of police work with criminal law, became more pronounced as it offered the police a source of independent authority and power. As law enforcement became the central mode of police activity and the primary source of political authority, it followed logically that crime control should become the central objective of policing.

The reformulation of the original police mandate from general order maintenance and social service to a narrow emphasis on crime control has been a relatively recent development which critics argue has moved the police away from their original commitment and involvement with the community's broad social control needs and concerns.

The Crime Fighting Model Ignores That The Majority of Police Activity and Requests For Service Are of A Non-Crime Nature

As already indicated, the bulk of actual police activity is determined by public requests for general police services and do not justify an exclusive concern with strict crime control. Critics argue that despite this fact, the police both organizationally and operationally tend to regard non-crime services as secondary to less frequent crime-related functions. As a result, police organizations tend to measure their activities and objectives in terms of criminal events, arrests, and clearance rates statistics. Policemen, as result, are rewarded only for crime-related activity and receive little internal organizational recognition or reward for often more problematic public order and social service duties. These activities, in which individual judgment and interpersonal skills are at a premium, are undervalued by police organizations as a consequence of a narrow commitment to the crime fighting role. Consequently, police training is almost exclusively oriented towards crime-related skills and neglects the social service and order maintenance skills that constitute the bulk of actual police work.

Over-Emphasis on Crime Control Leads To A Neglect of Other Important Police Functions

A number of critics argue that an exclusive concern with serious crime has led the police to diminish their commitment to their general order maintenance mandate. As a result, it is argued that the level of public order and safety has deteriorated in some urban communities. Wilson & Kelling (1982) suggests that the recent development of the crime fighting mandate, has encouraged redeployment of scarce police resources away from policing public streets in order to deal with serious criminal events. This leaves poorly organized communities to cope with growing levels of public disorder and petty street crime. Abandoning the street for the mobility or technical efficiency of the patrol car, has physically and symbolically removed the police from the general community and its public ordering needs. The street, in many urban areas, has become a threatening and anxiety producing public place, which not only results in lower levels of public order and safety, but also higher crime rates. The basic right of the community to have safe streets should, it is argued, have greater priority than a narrow concern with discrete criminal events. Research evidence suggesting that the public wants higher levels of police presence in the form of foot patrols, is a consistent finding in both U.S. and Canadian studies (Kelling, 1981). Though having no more impact on crime than mobile patrol, foot patrol significantly reduces crime fear, enhances perceptions of public safety and has a positive effect on community-police attitudes. In effect critics argue, that public safety and freedom to use public streets without fear, should be a fundamental goal of policing and should precede a narrower commitment to crime control.

The Crime Control Mandate May Be Inappropriate In The Canadian Context

The crime fighting model that has come to dominate contemporary police thinking is primarily a product of the American urban police experience. Developed as a response to high levels of violent crime in downtown core urban areas, the crime fighting approach to police work is perhaps most appropriate in areas with high rates of serious criminal activity. Comparisons of U.S. and Canadian crime statistics indicate that U.S. rates for almost all major offence categories are significantly higher than in Canada. Recent Canadian victimization and police surveys (R.C.M. Police, 1983) indicate that the bulk of criminal activity in most communities is of a less serious nature and has not yet created the levels of crime fear characteristic of the American situation. The majority of police departments in

Canada are located in small cities, towns or rural areas with relatively low crime rates. An exclusive emphasis on crime fighting in these settings may be entirely inconsistent with community policing needs and priorities.

Finally, it can be argued that the crime fighting model is a particular product of the 'American' historical and cultural experience in which an aggressive law enforcement role for the police has traditionally been accepted. Canadian cultural, social and historical conditions have never encouraged an aggressive police role, preferring instead a more civil and unobtrusive relationship between the police and the public. Students of the R.C.M.P. role in the early development of Canada cannot help but contrast the peaceful and orderly settlement of the Canadian West with the violence and lawlessness of the American experience. It could be argued that any attempt to adopt an aggressive crime fighting role for the municipal policing would generate the same public hostility and mistrust that is characteristic of much American policing.

COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING: KEY PRINCIPLES

The last ten years have seen the development of police literature, research and programs aimed at enhancing the involvement of the community in policing. The diverse and loosely-related body of literature has evolved as an alternative philosophy of policing. Community-based policing is an "umbrella term" used to describe any approach to policing that encourages involvement with the community.

To date, there exists no clear definition of community-based policing which would allow us to distinguish it from conventional policing. From a review of the literature, the following discussion outlines several principles of the community-based policing philosophy. These key philosophical principles establish the research elements of community-based policing and serve as a basis for further discussion of management and strategic implementation issues.

THE COMMUNITY PLAYS AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN POLICE DECISION MAKING

Community-based policing, as the term implies, is distinguished by its recognition and acceptance of the role of the community in influencing the philosophy, management and delivery of police services. The community is not simply viewed as a passive recipient of police services, but as an active element in the decision making process which affects priorities, allocation and implementation of police services. The community's policing needs and concerns are the ultimate determinants of the police mandate. The crime-fighting model of policing, which encourages independent police decision making, is replaced by a more co-operative, participatory process where general policing decisions are decided through negotiation with the community.

The community-based model identifies policing as an agency or service of community government. As a government institution, it is funded and maintained by local citizens and taxpayers in order to meet the community's policing needs. Goldstein (1977:33) emphasizes this point and outlines its implications as follows:

> Viewing the police--first and foremost--simply as an agency of municipal government, elementary as this concept may seem, serves a number of important purposes. It puts to rest the argument that police functioning should be viewed solely within the context of the Criminal Justice System. It rids us of the notion that the police are a legal institution created with a function strictly defined by Statute, and substitutes in its place a more flexible concept of the police as an administrative unit of local government. And it contributes towards challenging the widely held belief that dealing with crime is the sole function of the police, that all other tasks are peripheral or ancillary. More positively, viewing the police primarily as an agency of municipal government is a way of emphasizing the fact that each community has the opportunity to makes its own judgments as to what its police force should do.

Thus, the community-based model highlights the relationship between the police and their local communities.

Though formally empowered by law and responsible for its enforcement, society ultimately grants the police this power, making them not only responsible to the law but to the community as well. Emphasizing the relationship between society, law and the police suggests that police responsibility to the law does not exclude or exceed its responsibility to the community.

A community-based philosophy of policing does more than simply acknowledge the supporting role of the community, but suggests that the community has a legitimate and important role in the decision-making process of administrative policy making, where general priorities, resource allocation and service style issues are involved. For example, the police executive who must choose whether to concentrate his limited resources on either traffic, vice, street ordering, vandalism, etc., under a community-based model, would actively seek community input into these decisions and be prepared to adjust discretionary policies to meet the community's expressed preferences. Community-based advocates argue the merits of this approach based on a democratic conception of the police as an agency of the community government, making its policies and activities accountable to the community.

THE OBJECTIVES OF POLICING ARE BROAD AND COMMUNITY DEFINED

Community-based policing operates under a broad, socially-defined mandate. The general peace, order and security needs of a community are defined as the appropriate ends or goals of a community-based police service. Crime control is viewed as a central objective of policing but not necessarily as more important than other social control objectives. Community preference and need helps establish the relative importance of various policing goals.

Goldstein (1977), perhaps the most influential proponent and practitioner of community-based policing, defines the general objectives of community-based policing as community problem solving and the police as a problem solving agency. Goldstein is more specific in a list of appropriate police functions prepared for the American Bar Association.

> To prevent and control conduct widely recognized as threatening to life and property (serious crime).
>
> To aid individuals who are in danger of physical harm such as the victims of a criminal attack.
>
> To protect constitutional guarantees such as the right of free speech and assembly. (Substitute Charter of Rights).

> To facilitate the movement of people in vehicles.
>
> To assist those who cannot care for themselves, the intoxicated, the addicted, the mentally ill, the physically disabled, the old and the young.
>
> To resolve conflict whether it be between individuals, groups of individuals, or individuals and their government.
>
> To identify problems that have the potential for becoming more serious problems for the individual citizen, to the police, or for the government.
>
> To create and maintain a feeling of security in the community.
>
> (Goldstein, 1977:35)

The Task Force on Policing in Ontario (1974:19) recommended a balanced approach be adopted in meeting broad community-based objectives.

> We recommend that the police forces develop a balance among the functions or response referral, prevention, public education, crime solving and law enforcement which reflects the needs of each community in terms of the objectives of crime control, protection of life and property and maintenance of peace and order.

Community-based policing thus recognizes that the purpose of policing is more than law enforcement and crime control, but that the police also have a mandate to maintain social order, security, peace and good government. Anything that threatens these objectives, whether it is of a criminal or more general problem nature, is a legitimate police problem. The order maintenance and social service functions of the police are legitimized by recognizing the broad social objectives of policing and cannot be seen as marginal police responsibilities.

THE DIVERSE FUNCTIONS THAT THE POLICE PERFORM ARE LEGITIMATE ELEMENTS OF THE POLICE ROLE

The police perform a wide variety of functions that cannot be classified as law enforcement. Studies of calls for service, public expectation and police activity patterns, suggest that the police in the course of their routine daily activities perform and are expected to perform a wide variety of tasks and services. Research which describes what the police actually do in the course of their daily activities, indicates that policing involves a wide range of activities other than law enforcement, that these activities absorb the bulk of police time and that much police time is uncommitted (Wycoff, 1982). On the basis of these findings, police work emerges as being diverse in nature, complex in task assignment and reactively structured.

That the police perform many functions other than law enforcement is not surprising when we look at the data on public expectations and perception of the police role. What the public expect and want the police to do is, by and large, similar to what the police actually do. Though the public evaluates crime functions as being most important, they also indicate that non-crime functions are a legitimate part of the definition of the police role. This view was surprisingly confirmed in studies on police definition of their own role. Wycoff (1982:45) summarizes these findings on role realities and expectations as follows:

> In reality the role of municipal police is diverse. Police officers describe it that way and both police and citizens seem to believe that is the way the role should be.

The diverse nature of activities comprising the police role are thus products of public definitions of police work. Community-based policing argues that this diversity should be accepted by the police as fundamental to the police role in society and not simply peripheral to crime control functions. In short, adopting a broad social definition of the police role simply brings role definition in line with the realities of police work and expectations of the community. As the objectives of community-based policing are broad, then it is inevitable that the community-based policing must have a flexible definition of the police function.

Because the role of the police is so complex, various attempts have been made to classify the activities that the police perform. The Ontario Task Force on Policing (1974) task functions: response, referral, prevention, public education, crime solving, and law enforcement. While few police departments would disagree that these categories describe the range of their activities, there would be less agreement on how appropriate they are and how much emphasis should be placed on each one. The issue of emphasis on functional priorities distinguishes community-based policing from traditional role conceptions. The traditional law enforcement/crime control role regards crime solving and law enforcement functions as being more important than other police role functions. The community-based model, with its acceptance of a broad flexible police role, suggests that all six factors are legitimate areas of police activity. The priorities or particular mix of functions adopted by a police department should be ultimately determined by the nature and co-operatively defined needs of a particular community. Thus, a critical management challenge is to balance various police functions with community needs.

Community-based policing does not imply an emphasis on any particular police function but only that police priorities be consistent with community needs. Thus, crime control and law enforcement may indeed be priorities of some communities while other communities may require more emphasis on referral, education and preventive police activities. Emphasis on any one or combination of functions must ultimately be determined by the needs, capabilities, competence and expressed interests of the community environment in which the police operate.

COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING IS BASED ON A SHARED RESPONSIBILITY BETWEEN THE POLICE AND THE COMMUNITY

Community-based models of policing view the police as a special but interrelated component of a complex system of social control in the community. The maintenance of social order and stability in any community is fundamentally a product of the combined efforts of various systems of formal and informal social control. The family, church, education, social services, community groups, etc., in conjunction with the police, constitute the basic institutions and mechanisms for the maintenance of social control and order in any community. The police, by virtue of their special authority to use the law and the legitimate use of force, have a unique role to play in this system. Typically, when other agencies of social control cannot or will not deal with a crime or order problem, the police are asked to use their unique capabilities to deal with that problem.

In response to increasing societal complexities and the weakening of traditional controls, the police have gradually been asked to assume greater responsibility for social control in the community. This has resulted in increased resources and manpower for the police but not necessarily in higher levels of social control and order in the community. Research (Baumgartner, 1981) suggests that the more police accept exclusive responsibility for crime control, the less communities and individuals seem willing to become involved in policing their own environment.

Effective community-based policing suggests that the police share responsibility for certain aspects of policing with the community and adopt strategies that encourage the community to play an active role in its own protection. A community-based police agency should support, educate, co-ordinate and animate the dormant self-policing capacities of the community. Wilson & Kelling (1982:34) elaborate on this role:

> The essence of the police role in maintaining order is to reinforce the informal control mechanisms of the community itself. The police cannot, without committing extraordinary resources, provide a substitute for the informal control. On the other hand, to reinforce these natural forces the police must accommodate them.

By emphasizing the vital role the police play in relation to other community sources of social control, redirects policing priorities and resources towards the referral, educative, preventive and planning functions. Thus, crime and order problems previously seen as exclusive police problems are viewed in a broader context as community problems, in which the police have a special but not exclusive role.

A community perspective on crime problems also suggests a different way of assessing the traditional police responses to crime and order problems. Engstad & Evans (1980:143) suggest that appropriate police response to a community policing problem should begin by first making the assignment of responsibility a problematic issue.

> However, if we begin with the question: How ought the community be organized to control crime?, thus making assignment of responsibility for crime control problematic, it is possible to avoid being bound conceptually by the traditional view that police are responsible and therefore accountable for crime control.

Effective police response to community problems is thus premised on a broad analysis of community 'response-ability' and increased use of community resources in a comprehensive police-community response strategy. Co-operative policing means that both the police and the community bring their respective resources to bear on mutually defined community policing problems. The police with their special expertise and unique power, will obviously have a distinctive leadership role in this strategy but in contrast to traditional police responses, it will be enacted in concert with the community. While some policing problems are beyond the competence and capacity of the community, it should be remembered that the bulk of police time involves problems that the community can, in varying degrees, help prevent or contain through their own efforts.

Mobilizing community resources to meet general policing needs, may offer the police an alternative to simply not responding to community needs or soliciting more resources from a community which is apparently unable or unwilling to pay more. As catalysts for community self-policing, the police not only enhance their own effectiveness but perhaps in a real way, help create and sustain a conception of community responsibility that is the only real basis for the maintenance of peace, order and security in a society.

COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING ADVOCATES 'PROACTIVE' INVOLVEMENT WITH THE COMMUNITY

> Police departments are organized primarily to react to inputs from one environment rather than generate them by their own mobilization strategies. Nowhere is this reactive stance more apparent than in the preoccupation of police practitioners with the in-basket or daily input and a concentration on one day to day responsibilities. Police administrators are crisis managers and invariably they give priority to minor crises of today rather than the anticipated ones of tomorrow.
>
> (Reiss, 1982:136)

Critics of the traditional crime fighting role have singled out the 'reactive syndrome' of modern police management as imposing a restrictive 'fire brigade' mentality on police operations. Responding immediately to all calls for service, places the police in a passive role where response is dictated by the demands of the moment. This automatic response mentality imposes an "after the fact" definition of police work. The narrow role of response and investigation of discrete individual events inhibits a more rational, planned and proactive approach to community problem solving (Reiss, 1982; Goldstein, 1979, 81; Neave et al, 1980).

Though it must be recognized that much police work is crisis management and immediate response is often appropriate, there has developed a tendency within policing to ignore planning and to simply wait for the next problem to surface and respond as required. This is unfortunate, as the police possess a degree of insight, information and expertise that is under-used by a rapid response management philosophy. Often overlooked by problem experts and seldom consulted by community agencies, the police generally have remained content to do what is formally requested of them and little more. Rarely will police administrators publicly identify social problems in a community, despite often being the only agency with a first hand knowledge of an emerging problem. For example, the police were well aware of wife abuse, child abuse, and drunken drivers, long before they became political issues brought to public attention by other groups or agencies. Because of their traditional reluctance to surface community problems, the police, though perhaps knowledgeable about a substantive problem area, are sometimes seen as unresponsive and insensitive, rather than as a valuable source of community expertise and information.

Community-based policing advocates that the police break out of this reactive mode and become proactively involved in the identification and management of community problems. Rather than simply responding to events and issues, the police could actually influence, in various ways, the social environment which generates policing problems. This proactive role goes beyond traditional police initiated strategies to deal directly with crime, but extends into areas of activity which indirectly have an impact on community problems. This means a greater emphasis on prevention, referral and educational functions and planned strategies designed to have an impact on problems prior to their occurrence.

Engaging in various forms of crime or problem analysis (Engstad & Evans, 1980; Goldstein, 1981), requires adopting a broad causal view of crime or order problems and encourages the full range of response options.

available to the police. For example, the problem of family violence can be dealt with in a number of ways other than simply responding to individual events. The police have a number of optional roles beyond basic incident response, that have immediate and long range impact on the problem. An aggressive charging policy may act as an immediate deterrent, but promoting a public education process based on unique police information and insight or co-ordinating and encouraging alternative family support systems, offer strategies that go beyond the more limited traditional incidence-response police role.

This proactive role conception advocates that the police play a leadership role in community problem solving by using their powers to actively influence the social life of the communities they police. The nature and degree of this proactive involvement must be based upon a comprehensive analysis of the policing needs and an understanding of the expectations of the community.

UNRESOLVED COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING ISSUES

Our discussion of community-based policing has been premised on a number of assumptions about the nature of the community, the relationship between the police and the community and the fundamental nature of police work, that we feel needs further discussion. These are complex and persistent problems, not unique to the community-based ideal. All of these issues have been extensively discussed and debated. However, community-based policing with its particular emphasis on the community, accentuates the critical nature of these problems. Clarification of these issues is central to the future development of community-based policing.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE POLICE AND THE COMMUNITY

As has been pointed out in previous discussion, the relationship between the police and the community has historically been surrounded with a great deal of confusion, misunderstanding and debate. The literature on community-based policing has largely chosen to ignore these issues. Any philosophy of policing that encourages more, not less, involvement by the police in community affairs and more, not less, involvement by the community in policing issues, must eventually come to terms with these problems.

It will be evident by now that community-based policing encourages, rather than restricts, police involvement in what has traditionally been seen as a political process. A distinction can be made between politics, as it relates to legitimate participatory decision making processes in a community, and 'partisan politics' which suggests images of corruption, patronage, influence peddling and the pursuit of private interests. Community-based policing advocates the involvement of the community in general police policy decision making while, at the same time, it promotes a proactive political role for the police in community decision making. This raises a number of questions; who in the community should be involved in police policymaking, how should this process take place and what kinds of issues and decisions can or should the community become involved in? Clear answers to these questions remain elusive; however, some general observations can be offered which are consistent with a community-based perspective.

The first important issue for a police manager is, who represents the community or to whom should the police be accountable in a community? Much of the literature on community-based policing simply state that the police are responsible to the general community. Both the law and political reality dictates that the community, for all practical purposes, is represented by the elected members of town councils and or police boards. It is to this body that police are formally accountable and through whom the community must direct its policing concerns and priorities.[4] Unfortunately, the evidence to date reveals that this relationship has not always been as effective as it could be (Stenning, 1982; Hann et al, 1983). This research indicates that effective police-community government interaction has been hampered by lack of agreement over the boundaries of this relationship, conflicting definitions of the police board's role, lack of expertise and commitment by police boards to policing issues and little community awareness of police board functions. The evidence to date suggests a disturbing lack of concensus and understanding between the police and municipal governments over their respective roles and obligations.

If community-based policing is to work, this relationship will have to be more clearly defined and the respective rights and powers of both parties clarified. The police boards, for their part, must become more informed about the realities of policing and make a more conscious effort to actively represent all community interests. The police, in a community-based model, must not only accept community involvement, but encourage informed participation. Though perhaps presumptuous, it may be necessary for the police to take the initiative and help educate and inform the community about policing issues and concerns. An example of this approach can be seen in an R.C.M.P. initiative in The Pas/Selkirk communities (R.C.M.P., 1983). A police initiated survey of community attitudes, problems and concerns coupled with police information on these issues was shared with the community and its government. From this police initiative, a co-operative, community-based policing strategy was developed, giving focus and vitality to police-community interaction that was previously missing. A positive direction for community-based policing would be to embrace the formally defined relationship the police have with the elected representatives of the community and make it a more meaningful exchange of mutual concerns.

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[4] Police accountability and responsiveness are often used as if the terms were synonymous. A clear distinction must be made here. The police can be accountable for their actions to the community without being responsive. In fact, the police cannot and should not be responsive in an unlimited sense of community interests. In some instances, it is essential that the police act independent of local community interests, in deference to provincial or federal legislation which logically preempts local preferences (Goldstein, 1977:143). By the same token, responsiveness, where accountability is not an issue, is essential and a necessary ingredient to sound community-based policing. Wilson and Kelling (1982) argue convincingly that a community focus which respects local needs and expectations gives meaning and substance to 'community policing' arrangements.

However, establishing a direct and open relationship with the community's elected representatives makes the practical problem of what issues are negotiable even more critical. Though this has been the subject of considerable debate, there appears to be a growing consensus in legal and police literature that community governments should be involved in general policy decisions but not day-to-day operational activities.

> It should be a framework which gives the civilian authority all the workable controls that are necessary to ensure that police practices conform to the social and political goals of government, and that the principle is embedded in the Rule of Law. At the same time, the day-to-day exercise of discretion by individual police officers must be safeguarded in situations where control is neither feasible nor desirable.
>
> (Hogarth, 1982:120)

Unfortunately, the distinction between policy and operational matter is much clearer in theory than in actual practices. Recent research on this issue indicates there is considerable confusion and debate, both between and among police community and government officials, as to how to distinguish policy and operational issues (Hann, et al, 1983). The empirical findings from this research suggest what many police managers already know, that policy matters have an impact on operational issues and operational issues have policy implications. It would appear that policy and operational matters are so inextricably linked, that using this distinction as a basis for defining the limits of community input, still remains problematic. As a general principle, the distinction between general policy issues and day-to-day operational matters remain a useful guide. For example, the legitimate involvement of the community in setting an enforcement priority on drunk drivers, need not extend into direct involvement in the exact method of enforcement in a particular case. The complexity of the relationship between policy and operational issues can be satisfactorily worked out between the police and the community if there is a well established forum for discussion in which both parties work towards mutually defined interests. When the police and the community develop policies and priorities independently of one another, differences are accentuated, and become struggles between competing and not compatible interests. Thus, the authors reiterate the importance of establishing an open and active relationship between the police and local municipal governments in order that these problematic issues can be worked out in a mutually satisfactory fashion.

THE COMMUNITY QUESTION

Discussions of community-based policing are premised on an often undefined and somewhat utopian conception of community. The term 'community', when used in most police literature, suggests an image of social uniformity and harmony that exists perhaps only in the minds of the user. Police managers are well aware that 'the community' represents an abstract ideal that seldom describes the work environment in which they operate. In short, there are many kinds of communities and within these communities there exists many different and often conflicting interests. Effective community-based policing must be based on a realistic understanding of the nature of the community in which it operates. This means going beyond the community 'ideal' and recognizing the diversity and complexity of community environments.

The 'community ideal' brings to mind a number of descriptive categories such as shared beliefs, common values, intimate social-interaction, common biography, a harmony of interests, a sense of identity and belonging, etc. More generally, we can define the community as 'consisting of persons in social-interaction within a geographical area having one or more additional common ties' (Hillery, 1955). Few modern communities can meet all of these requirements, but variations from the community ideal must be understood for effective policing. For example, programs and patrol strategies premised on a general conception of community prove more suitable and effective in certain kinds of community environments than others. Community variation is the norm in Canada and policing strategies and services have to adapt to fundamental differences in community structure.

'Community' exists in varying degrees and in various ways in all community settings. The important issue for the police is to discover community resources and process within these community types and use them effectively to meet policing needs. This means tailoring service delivery and policing strategies to particular kinds of community environments.

PUBLIC INTERESTS AND POLICING

Related to the lack of community uniformity is the elusive nature of community or 'public interest'. Again, the problem is the implied notion that there is a uniform public or community who have common or agreed upon interests or objectives. Typically, the public or community is represented as a uniform, harmonious interest group, with shared altruistic goals. McEvoy (1976) suggests that instead, policing should be viewed as servicing many publics or communities.

> The problem, ...is that there is no such thing as 'The Public'. The police must serve many 'publics': a mosaic of the multitude of differing cultures and subcultures... There is no such thing as 'The Community'. Our towns and cities are comprised of many communities...
>
> (McEvoy, 1976)

A pluralistic view of the community assumes a community of for police services. Some interest groups in a community are organized and politically demanding forces in the police environment while other community interests remain unrepresented or simply unnoticed. The police role in relation to these varied interest groups is part of the complex politics of community policing. The often competitive and conflictual nature of 'public interest' or 'community goals' requires further analysis and discussion in any future elaborations of the community-based model. Recognition of community variation and plurality of community interests makes it even more important that the police become sensitive to all group interests in the communities they serve and devise flexible policies and programs which can meet and mediate community differences.

SUMMARY

The community-based policing role thus emphasizes the role of the police in influencing changes which affect the order and crime and order problems of a community. This implies a much more aggressive effort by the police to become involved in the decision making process that affects the community. For example, the role of the police in the planning process of a community is slowly becoming recognized. R.C.M.P. expertise in crime prevention through environmental design (C.P.T.E.D.), played an important role in the planning and development of the new community of Tumbler Ridge, British Columbia. This kind of initiative recognizes that the police should be consulted on issues which will affect the peace and security of the community. Community-based policing makes it the responsibility of the police to inform the community that not only do they have expertise to offer, but that they are committed to sharing it with the community.

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CHAPTER III - MANAGEMENT ISSUES IN COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING

INTRODUCTION

Developing community-based policing is fundamentally a management responsibility. As a distinctive philosophy of policing it presents an unique set of management problems and challenges. From a review of the research and critical police literature the following key management issues have been selected for discussion.

The Community-Based Management Perspective
Developing a management approach that is consistent with the basic principles of community-based policing.

The Organizational Structuring of Community-Based Policing
Examining alternate ways of structuring the organizational delivery of community-based services.

Managing Human Resources
Developing methods of effectively using human resources to meet the requirement of a community-based police department.

Managing Organizational Change

Managing the change process in a community-based police organization.

Management Information Systems

Using Management Information Systems (MIS) for more informed decision making at all levels of the organization.

THE COMMUNITY-BASED MANAGEMENT PERSPECTIVE

In order to develop a community-based police operation, it will be necessary to adopt a management perspective that differs from traditional approaches to police management. The following discussion outlines some basic management principles and strategies which research suggests are crucial to effective community-based police management.

DEVELOPING A COMMUNITY-FOCUSED ORIENTATION

Traditional police organizations have been described in police research as essentially closed, insular organizations; suspicious of community involvement and resistant to environmental influence (Bittner, 1970; Manning, 1982). Because of the legal nature of police work itself and traditional fear of partisan political control, the ideal of community participation in policing has been strongly resisted. As community-based policing requires a commitment by the police to involve the community in mutual problem identification and co-operative problem solving, police managers must first develop a fundamental recognition within their organizations of the importance and centrality of community for effective police operations.

Police departments are dependent upon the community for a variety of organizational resources such as information, assistance, legitimacy and resource funding. Recognition that police actions, attitudes, etc., have a direct impact on the community which affect the organizations ability to operate effectively, requires the police to adopt a broader, 'open' community perspective. Perceptions of police responsiveness to community concerns have been directly related in research studies to higher reporting rates, greater levels of witness co-operation, investigative assistance, favourable public ratings, and higher funding levels. (Ostrom, et al, 1977, 1974, 1973) Therefore, it is in police interest to adopt a more open and responsive approach to the community than has been traditionally the case. A community-based police department must present itself as a public service organization involved in the business of providing police services in a community. The police in a democratic society are responsible to the community as well as to the law or legal system. The community is, in effect, the client around which police services should be organized and managed.

Thus, management must develop a fundamental recognition and acceptance of the importance of community concerns in influencing general police operations. It is up to management to articulate a clear statement of philosophy or purpose within the organization which embraces these community-based principles and reinforce them through appropriate training, operational policies and reward systems. Policing can then develop an open relationship with the community which will benefit both parties.

PROACTIVE MANAGEMENT AND POLICE-COMMUNITY INTERACTION

Having established the importance and legitimacy of the community, the police manager must be prepared to adopt a more proactive approach to managing this relationship. This may mean changing the traditionally 'reactive' and relatively passive role of responding to immediate and often unstructured community demands. To a great extent most police operations are organized around calls for service and traditional public expectations. The traditional service on demand mandate of the police helps to generate a state of perpetual crisis-response. The community-based model advocates that police managers adopt a more planned perspective in managing this mandate. This requires that police managers analyse and plan their response to calls for service and thus impose a more rational system of control over the .work activities of the organization. For example, research indicates that when the police have initiated programs to reduce, redirect or delay police responses to certain kinds of public requests for service, they have been able to free up valuable police resources and change traditional public expectations (Pate, 1976).

Changing public service expectations through community consultation and education potentially allows the police manager to more effectively and efficiently deliver police services in accordance with rationally established policing priorities. Because communities lack complete information about policing problems, police supplied information provided by the police can help establish more informed and rational expectations. Unless the police themselves take the initiative in sharing this information, community problem identification will at best be incomplete and more often simply inaccurate or ill-informed. A proactive management approach means harnessing information analysis and problem solving abilities of the police as part of a more active and educational role for community policing.

As managers of an important public service organization the police executive possesses an expertise that is unique and invaluable in the solution of community problems. Police managers have a legitimate role in the community's decision making process by contributing to public debate, the information and expertise at their disposal and thus allowing for more informed political decisions. To remain silent or ignore public and political debate regarding police-related matters may mean that his own organizational mandate could be influenced by an uninformed public or narrow partisan political interests.

COMMUNITY ANALYSIS: UNDERSTANDING THE COMMUNITY

A police manager should have the same understanding of his community as he has of the internal organization of his own department. Policing the community is the fundamental mandate of the police and without a sound, sensitive and scientific understanding of its makeup he cannot hope to be truly effective. Too often, police managers display a solid understanding of their internal organization but have little corresponding understanding of the nature of the community environment in which they operate. The modern police executive must be able to manage both.

Police managers must have a comprehensive and informed understanding of the community environment if they hope to have an effective and efficient police operation. The systematic collection of information on various aspects of the community should ideally be part of the information base upon which management and operational decisions are routinely made. Community analysis in the broadest context should precede more operationally orientedcrime analysis given the essential relationship between crime problems and social factors. As the community-based model is geographically specific, the police manager should have a firm grasp of the unique and distinctive social factors that shape the delivery of police services in a particular community. As in crime analysis the community-based police manager should have at his disposal a complete community profile based upon recent, relevant and reliable information. The following is a description of what kinds of information are ideally required:

The Service Demand Structure of The Community

The nature and structure of the demand for police services in a community should be systematically analyzed in order to understand how it influences the routine work activities of the organization. Phone requests, calls for service analysis, planned institutional or group requests, proactive or police initiated demands can all be considered as part of the service demand structure. Demand analysis should be assessed in order to establish a basis for systematic planning and the development of differential police response strategies.

Service demand, however, does not necessarily always equate with community needs, as these are not always expressed through traditional demand systems. Victimization studies or self-report studies may address undetected policing needs or policing problems such as family violence that for various reasons do not become part of the service demand for police services.

Community Structure

The demographic characteristics of a community can provide valuable information on factors which contribute both to offender motivation and opportunity factors. Government census data is readily available for every community. Data on population characteristics, mobility, education levels, income distribution, homeownership, etc., allow the creation of a statistical portrait of the community, which can be used to analyze social factors which effect crime and order problems and allows for predictive studies of future demand patterns, etc.

Community Standards

A persistent and perplexing problem for police managers is to adjust enforcement levels, patrol styles, diversion options, etc., in relation to community standards. Administrative discretion is usually based on perception of community standards gathered from experience or contact with community representatives. However, this leaves considerable room for misunderstanding as these perceptions are subject to selective influences and experience. The effective police manager must be able to inform his administrative discretion with a clear understanding of general community standards. Thus, resource allocation, enforcement style and charging options for marginal offences (public disorder, juvenile offences, loitering, etc.) should be determined by an accurate understanding of indigenous community values and public expectations. While these are communicated to the police in various ways through town councils, citizen complaints, etc., a more systematic and scientific survey approach might be warranted. Citizens are asked to identify priorities, expectations and preferences regarding policing or crime problems. Such findings give the police manager a better understanding of the entire community's definition of appropriate police responses and help insure police-community consistency in problem definition and priority setting (Dutton, et al., 1983). Survey questionnaires can also be used to generate data relevant to public attitudes towards the police as well as establish an information base for the introduction of new police programs and planned changes to existing police practices.

Community Resources

The varied ability of communities to participate actively in policing their own environments is a product of a number of key individual institutional and organizational variables. The police manager must build an effective relationship with these community resources. These key resources should be identified and developed and a system of communication established in order to ensure regular interaction. This information should be part of the information base of a community-based police operation.

IDENTIFYING COMMUNITY POLICING PROBLEMS AND PRIORITIES

Once an established relationship between the police and the community has been developed, the police manager should develop a process of community problem identification.

Identified problems, in turn, can be translated into substantive policing goals for his organization.

Though various problems may be identified through individual citizen complaints or police committees, etc., these may not represent the most important policing problems in the community, nor be widely shared. Communities often lack the kinds of information necessary to make informed decisions in regards to policing priorities. Perceptions of policing problems tend to reflect personal experience and this may or may not be a reliable indicator of general community concerns. The police understanding of community concerns is affected by their unique role and limited interactions with the whole community. This may result in a relatively subjective assessment and be open to organizational and individual biases. Research indicates that a number of community-based police programs have failed, in part, because they have addressed police but not community defined problems or concerns (Linden & Barker, 1982; Titus, 1982; Percy, 1982). What is required, is a collaborative process of problem identification which taps into genuine community concerns and problems. This greatly increases the chances of program success in terms of community satisfaction and involvement. An innovative approach to the issue of community police problem identification is illustrated by the 'Selkirk and The Pas' experiment initiated by the Crime

Prevention Centre of the R.C.M.P. (1983). A combination of crime analysis information provided by the police to the public and a community questionnaire on crime concerns and expectations, was used as a basis for generating dialogue between the police and the community. This allowed the police to establish key priorities for subsequent police actions. The advantages of such a process are:

- The police become more familiar with crime patterns and problems through in-house crime analysis.

- The community becomes more informed regarding the general nature of police recorded crimes and service demands.

- The community questionnaire and key interviews inform both the police and the community at large about perceived problems and priorities.

- Both the crime analysis and community survey provide a stimulus for informed dialogue between the police and the community.

- The resulting interaction between the police and community produce a clear identification of genuine community-defined policing problems.

- The process allows for the identification and active involvement of community resources in police strategies developed to deal with identified community problems.

While it may not be necessary to engage in such an elaborate process as the The Pas/Selkirk Study, the basic principles of information sharing, police-community dialogue and the development of co-operatively defined problems remain fundamental to effective management. The next stage in such a process is the development of strategies to deal with the identified problems.

PROBLEM-ORIENTED POLICING[1]

The problem-oriented approach, in its broadest sense, seeks to introduce a new way of thinking about police work by building into efforts to improve policing a serious concern for substantive problems. Substantive problems refer to community-based crime and order problems that the public expects the police to deal with. Traditionally, the 'business' of the police has been to respond to a diverse array of singular events or incidents reported by the public. The problem-oriented approach calls for the police to group like incidents (by virtue of similarity, proximity, target population(s) etc.) so that they may be addressed in a more generic way as problems. The central concern of the police, thus, becomes their effectiveness in dealing with substantive problems and the quality of their response.

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[1] The authors acknowledge the major contribution of Herman Goldstein in two works: "Improving Policing: A Problem Oriented Approach". Crime & Delinquency, Vol. 25, N. 2, 1979, p.236-258, and "The Problem-Oriented Approach to Improving Police Service". Unpublished paper. Madison, Wisc.: Univ. of Wisconsin, Law School, March 1982.

The process of systematic inquiry becomes important as one of the first steps in developing a greater concern for substantive matters. A high priority is placed on developing in-house expertise in conducting penetrating and rigorous inquiries into substantive problems. An 'eclectic' form of research is called for which makes the most effective use of various social science research methods while remaining cognizant of time and cost constraints. Such research methods will entail a careful review of all previous efforts to assess and deal with the problem; whether conducted by academics, government agencies, community organizations or other police forces.

In keeping with the detailed nature of inquiry, the problem-oriented concept calls for the identification and analysis of multiple community interests in a given problem;

i.e., the costs to individuals and the total community in terms of loss of life and injuries, loss of property, perceived fear, and the general effect on the quality of life within the community. Recognizing the over-dependence traditionally placed on the criminal justice system (and its relatively limited capacity), problem-oriented policing encourages the exploration of alternatives when appropriate. Clearly, the emphasis is placed on preventive rather than reactive strategies. Finally, the problem-oriented approach endorses a collaborative relationship between the police and the community. The onus is placed on the police to assume a more proactive role in sharing their knowledge about substantive problems and in offering proposals by which the police and community together can more effectively deal with such problems.

THE CO-PRODUCTION OF COMMUNITY POLICING STRATEGIES

The identification of community problems places an onus on the police to develop strategies and programatic responses to deal with them. A police manager must respond to these problems, as well as meet the daily demands placed upon his force within a fixed and often limited resource base.

The community-based model offers the police a way of gaining additional resources and reducing traditional demands for service. The shifting of responsibility to the community for various aspects of policing coupled with an awareness of the limits of police resources and capacities, should provide the police with more flexibility in the management of scarce organizational resources. Enlisting community support and participation in the development of policing strategies must be initiated and managed by the police themselves. A number of experimental police programs have been tried in various communities which depend heavily on citizen participation in performing a variety of police tasks such as routine clerical work, crime prevention programs, neighbourhood patrols, etc. By actively promoting citizen initiatives where demonstrable policing needs have been identified, the police can help reduce community dissatisfaction by providing police co-ordinated citizen response. The freeing up of valuable police resources that would otherwise be involved in providing marginal police services can then be used to meet more pressing needs.

> More involvement of the community in preventive work to deal with these problems may well provide a better return than conventional arrest and prosecution strategies. A police force embracing a preventive policing philosophy and identifying people, already active in the community, who can accept responsibility for dealing with local

> problems, can redirect some of its own efforts into areas where community competence is lacking. In this way it might be argued that police should undertake major responsibility for serious crimes and that, wherever possible, the community should accept responsibility for more minor matters. Police preoccupation with matters that are well within community competence not only encourages dependency where self-help would be more practical, but also dissipates scarce police resources which might be better used elsewhere.
>
> (Grant, 1980:10)

The advantages for both the community and the police make involvement, participation and shared responsibility important operational priorities. The identification of those problem areas that lie within the realm of community competence and responsibility must become important management priorities. Subsequent development of community, rather than police-based strategies offer policing the only real hope of reducing presently unrestricted service demands.

COMMUNITY SPECIFIC POLICING: THE FIT BETWEEN COMMUNITY POLICING GOALS AND ORGANIZATIONAL RESPONSE

Community-based policing essentially dictates that the community be involved in helping establish general policing goals and share some of the responsibility for operationalizing strategies designed to meet these goals. The police manager, prior to the development of organizational strategies or programs, should first collaborate with the community to establish specific policing needs and priorities. These problems become the organizational objectives towards which the police must direct their resources and measure organizational effectiveness. Policing goals are products of joint organizational and community definition. Community involvement in goal setting distinguishes community-based policing from traditional policing.

Having established clear and agreed upon community policing goals it is then up to the police manager to devise the best means of achieving these goals. The nature of these policing goals to a great extent will dictate the most appropriate organizational response and thus, the means by which these issues are to be achieved. Appropriate patrol style, the right mix of crime prevention programs, the need for rapid response, the development of diversion programs, the level of specialization, the appropriate technology, etc., will be selected by the police manager in order to meet the specific policing goals of the community. Finding an appropriate fit between the community's policing goals and the correct organizational response becomes a fundamental management challenge. This will require police managers to an understanding of the various policing program, strategies, technologies, etc., which have been successfully demonstrated as having an impact on substantive policing problems.

A point the authors wish to emphasize is that community-based policing does not imply a specific programmatic approach to policing; only that there be community involvement in both the identifying and setting priorities in policing problems and community involvement in an appropriate capacity in their resolution. Thus, a community that identifies specific crime problems, rather than service order problems, may develop a traditional crime control strategy that differs little from existing traditional police response models. On the other hand, a community without serious crime problems, but clearly identified order and service needs, will display an organizational style and approach to community policing that may mean considerable variation from traditional methods. For example, heavy reliance on crime prevention programs, police-public education programs, foot patrol, team policing, etc., may be more appropriate in communities with relatively low rates of serious crime and a demonstrated community interest in becoming involved actively with the police in safeguarding property and public order.

The major advantage of the community-based model is that it recognizes and accepts the fundamental diversity of the community and allows for the flexible and democratic development of an organizational approach to policing which is consistent with the responsibilities and obligations of the police to the community as well as the law.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURING OF COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING

Once the goals of the community-based police organization have been established the police manager must choose the most efficient and effective means to attain these goals. Structure dictates how an organization controls, distributes and deploys its resources in order to meet its stated objectives. As community-based policing implies a distinctive set of goals, the issue of how to best achieve these goals require a reappraisal of traditional methods of organizing police services.

Policing, since its invention by Peel in 1829, has been dominated by the so-called 'military-bureaucratic' organizational model. The distinguishing characteristics of this model are:

- Routine tasks occurring in stable conditions.
- Task specialization (division of labour).
- Means (proper way to do a job) are emphasized.
- Conflict within the organization is adjudicated from the top.
- 'Responsibility' (what one is supposed to do; formal job description) is emphasized.

- One's primary sense of responsibility and loyalty are to the bureaucratic sub-unit to which one is assigned.
- The organization is perceived as a hierarchic structure (pyramid).
- Knowledge is inclusive only at the top of the hierarchy (only the chief knows everything).
- Interaction between people in the organization tends to be vertical (i.e. take orders from above and transmit them below).
- The style of interaction is directed toward obedience, command, and clear superordinate-subordinate relationships.
- Loyalty and obedience to one's superior and the organization generally are emphasized.
- Prestige is internalized; that is, personal status in the organization is determined largely by one's office and rank. (Heywood, 1978:151)

The benefits of a stable, clearly defined, well developed, rule guided organization were thought to be consistent with needs of the legal system, certain investigative functions, rapid respond and internal management control. Some of these advantages persist but as social conditions change and new environmental demands are placed on the police there has developed a growing critique of the traditional model of police organization.

The literature on the limits of the military-bureaucratic model is too broad and complex to discuss in detail, but the major criticisms are summarized below:

- **The military-bureaucratic model is a closed system.** Critics argue that traditional police organizations promote an insular, rigid and overly formal organizational structure which enhances the separation of the community from the police and places internal organizational priorities over the concerns and requirements of the community. (Cordner, 1978).

- **Military bureaucracies are punishment centered.** Relying on compliance to rules as a way of controlling police behaviour. This produces a rigid, formalistic performance style which is conservative and internally oriented. Performance according to internal rules is rewarded while real police work--community interaction--is invisible to the organization and hence not rewarded or encouraged. (Bittner, 1970; Bordua & Reiss, 1966).

- **Traditional police organizations are too centralized.** Centralized decision making is an intrinsic part of the military rank system in policing. The results of this highly centralized approach to decision making is the exclusion of subordinate or line input and the inhibiting of local community input. (Stinchcombe, 1980; Ostrom, et al, 1978).

- **Traditional police organizations are too specialized.** Increased emphasis on specializing, which separates various task functions in policing has created a number of unanticipated problems. Critics question the need and effectiveness of various specialized police functions while pointing out the communication, control and morale problems that result. (Heywood, 1978; Ericson, 1982; Kelling, 1980; Greenwood, 1975.)

These criticisms inevitably raise the issue of alternative organizational models of police operations. Developing appropriate structures which overcome limitation of the traditional model and meet the needs of both the police and the community are discussed in the following section.

SIZE: IS BIGGER ALWAYS BETTER?

Throughout North America there has been a consistent trend in policing towards the amalgamation, consolidation, centralization and regionalization of police services. The arguments for increasing the size of police organizations are typically that larger police organizations are cheaper or more cost-effective, that they provide a generally higher level of police service, they allow access to expensive and highly-specialized police services, they develop higher levels of police professionalism and they allow for a more rational central management. Though in some cases these arguments are undoubtedly true, there is a disturbing lack of research to support these assertions. On the other hand, there is growing evidence that increasing the size of a police organization through amalgamation, regionalization, etc., creates a new set of problems for both the management and operation of policing itself and, more importantly, for the community for whom police services are being reorganized.

In the only large scale studies of police agency size and police amalgamation, Ostrum et al (1978, 1974, 1973) found in a comparative study of 102 police departments that small community police forces:

- seldom-required auxiliary police services and when needed they were always available;
- had a lower proportion of their officers assigned to administration and higher proportion on active patrol;
- had a higher density of patrol than did larger departments (ratio; 1 - 2,400 in department of 5-10 men and 1 - 4,200 in departments 150 plus);
- in almost all surveys of citizen evaluation and experience, small town police departments did as well as larger departments and much better in some categories.

In subsequent research, Ostrum, et al. found that small to medium-sized departments had more favourable citizen ratings, lower victimization rates, lower unreported crime rates, and quicker police response time. While Ostrum, et al do not favour disbanding large, centralized police departments, they conclude from their research that many of the assumptions underlying amalgamation and regionalization have simply not been proven empirically and they advocate careful consideration of the benefits of retaining smaller-sized police agencies.

Of particular significance for community-based policing is that organizational structure should be directly related to natural size and the boundaries of the community. In large, urban environments this can be accomplished by district, zone or team policing, which organizes police services at the community level, allowing for easy community identification and input. When smaller police organizations are amalgamated within larger administrative units the police should be sensitive to the problems of perceived community exclusion from policy and operational influence. Experience demonstrates that resistance to regionalization, amalgamation and hub-policing concepts have been based on the community's legitimate concern that their involvement in policing and the service they receive will significantly diminish. The internal administrative advantages of regionalization may be offset by lower levels of public satisfaction and community co-operation. Processes for community involvement and participation must be firmly established before successful regionalization can take place. When this has not happened in the past, some communities have become so dissatisfied that they have rejected regionalization or returned to a decentralized system of community-based, single agency operation. Thus, community-based police managers must be sensitive to the problems posed by the size of the organizations being administered and recognize its impact on levels of community service and perceptions of public input.

DECENTRALIZATION: COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING IS BEST REALIZED THROUGH A DECENTRALIZED ORGANIZATIONAL MODEL

Formal decision-making responsibilities in most police departments are usually a function of rank within a hierarchical authority structure. Traditional police bureaucracies are highly centralized with little active participation and formal decision-making responsibilities left to line staff. Organizational loyalty, obedience and rule conformity are emphasized while independent discretionary decision making is discouraged. Unlike other public service organizations such as hospitals, schools, social service agencies, etc., the formal police organization gives little recognition to the decision-making skills of operational line staff.

As a result, the hierarchical traditional model has been criticized for the following:

- being inconsistent with the realities of police work, as the bulk of all police decisions are made by line staff outside the organization;
- creating information and communication problems between the top and bottom of the organization. Organizational communication is distorted, ignored, translated or simply lost by the creation of an elaborate formal hierarchy which separates those who do police work from those who manage it;
- being excluded from participation or even consultation in management decisions and procedures produces alienation and reduces individual occupational commitment at the lower levels of the organization;
- centralization of command and decision making authority reduces the flexibility and responsiveness of the organization to community concerns.

Excessive organizational centralization has prompted a move towards more decentralized modes of police organization and service delivery. Various organizational strategies such as district, zone, or team policing models have been developed in which decision making authority is delegated to lower levels of the organization and participation is sought from all organizational members. Decentralized models of service delivery are basically aimed at maximizing organizational participation and information sharing within police organizations. This insures a level of decision making flexibility at the operational level that can address the specific needs of a particular community environment.

A recent study by ABT Associates indicates that job satisfaction is greater in departments where "the role of the police officer is greater by a high degree of autonomy --and where patrol officers are given opportunities to participate in decisions affecting their jobs" (Stinchcombe, 1980:53). Participation by line staff uses the human resource potential of the organization more fully by encouraging active involvement in important organizational decision making. This provides individuals with an opportunity to increase their personal job satisfaction and help motivate them to work towards the achievement of common organizational goals. While participation alone is no guarantee that these results will be forthcoming (Melcher, 1976), there is considerable evidence to suggest that well structured and appropriate line input does enhance organizational productivity and goal attainment.

Decentralized approaches to community policing also provide a level of decision-making responsibility that is capable of responding to the immediate environmental demands of the organization. Communities that have been policed by highly-centralized police organizations, large municipal police departments, often complain that standard organizational policies or internal organizational decisions fail to take into account the particular problems, concerns or mores of the 'local' community. Without authority to respond quickly and sensitively to immediate community problems, centralized police departments often appear closed, unnecessarily bureaucratic and uncaring. A community-based police organization must have the organizational flexibility to delegate decision-making authority to those facets of the organization or individuals that deal directly with the local community. Any organizational structure that impedes communication between the police and the community undermines its general effectiveness in achieving its objectives.

The issue of decentralization in the delivery of police services was highlighted as one of the most critical reorganizational priorities in the recent management review of the Metro Toronto Police Department. The Hickling-Johnston Report (1982) made a number of explicit major organizational recommendations in order to emphasize this issue.

> Currently, the decision making processes within the Metropolitan Toronto Police are highly centralized. In the future, however, as part of the organization's realignment program, a strategy to decentralize decision making throughout the organization will need to be implemented. This is a result of the following:
>
> - Fundamental changes in the role or responsibilities of the chief of police require that delegation of responsibilities downwards in the organization take place.
> - Increased focus and responsiveness to local community needs must be achieved at the field operational level. Accountability and limits of authority of field commanders must be consistent with this requirement.
> - Greater emphasis on program development and implementation of new initiatives must be achieved by the Force, in particular by police personnel from the lower echelons of field operations.
> - Basic requirements to improve the managerial abilities of the Force demand that field personnel be given increased opportunity and freedom to manage. Highly-centralized decision making systems are inconsistent with this requirement.
>
> (Hickling-Johnston, 1982b:33)

While some activities may be more effectively managed through centralized command systems (i.e., information processing, sophisticated crime, etc.), a large amount of routine police work can be effectively managed through a more decentralized, organizational model. While not without its own particular set of management problems, decentralization is increasingly becoming an accepted organizational model for the delivering of community-based police services.

SPECIALIST VS. GENERALIST MODELS OF POLICE SERVICE DELIVERY

As policing has developed, it has become an increasingly specialized enterprise. Specialized investigative units have been created for most major offence categories and recently, in an effort to respond to community concerns, specialized divisions for community relations, ethnic squads, crime prevention units, etc., have been added. In an effort to maximize efficiency in the use of police resources and develop high levels of specific expertise, the trend towards increasing police specialization is being examined more closely.

A variety of research studies and police reforms have identified some of the negative aspects of specialization. These criticisms can be summarized as follows:

- a lack of proven effectiveness in certain specialized areas in relation to organizational costs (i.e., community relations, detective bureaus;
- the creation of privilege and elite status for special units; resulting in control, information and morale problems;
- the reduction of responsibility, authority and status for patrol officers; resulting in line staff alienation and reduction of job satisfaction.

The impact of specialization on the role of the patrol constable is perhaps the most problematic aspect of police specialization. The general erosion of investigative and community interaction responsibilities from the job of the patrol constable has trivialized patrol work and made it a low status assignment. Limited to random motorized patrol, where the most important and interesting aspects of the police function are passed on to specialists, the patrolman's job has become, at worst, a boring and routine enterprise and, at best, a necessary step in the progression towards what is perceived as more rewarding, specialized high-status assignments (i.e., detective). The organization, as a result, "suffers from a constant drain of ambitious and enterprising men, leaving it generally understaffed and incidentally overstaffed with men who are regarded as unsuitable for more demanding work." (Bittner, 1970:58). This contributes to low morale, discontent and occupational alienation found in the patrol ranks of police organizations without a generalist patrol model.

Growing recognition of this problem has stimulated efforts to enhance the decision making role of the line policeman. The 'constable generalists model' was identified by The Task Force on Policing in Ontario (1974) as a major component of their reorganization of policing in Ontario.

> The approach to the role outlined in this report places greatest onus on the individual constable. This is because he makes the most important police decisions in the everyday course of his duty. His ability to make judgements rests on the quality of preparation he has received.
>
> (Task Force On Policing in Ontario, 1974:20)

Similarly, the Hickling-Johnston Report (1982b:21) made a number of recommendations which were aimed specifically at increasing the responsibilities and investigative functions of patrol constables.

> While the task at hand will need to be achieved primarily with existing manpower there are areas and opportunities where more effective utilization of resources can be accomplished including:
>
> > An acceleration of the generalist concept particularly at the more junior levels of the organization.
> >
> > Expansion of the frontline constables job to include responsibility for preliminary investigation, community involvement, crime prevention, etc., in addition to responding to calls for service. This shift in utilization has the added advantage of taking the first step towards making the constable's job more intrinsically rewarding.

The return to a more active role for the general police constable by emphasizing both investigative and community involvement responsibilities is part of what is seen to be a more efficient organizational response to community concerns.

The effectiveness of a community-based police operation lies in the quality of interaction between the police and the community at the patrolman's level. As the patrol constables have the most contact with the public, it is necessary that they have both the authority and the motivation to develop this relationship. Reduction of frontline responsibilities through specialization of police functions such as community relations, crime prevention, public education, etc., should be avoided as this results in abdication of line responsibility and unnecessary job fragmentation. While specialization may be desirable for certain non-routine task functions such as crime labs, serious crimes identification services, etc., the bulk of most police-citizen interactions should remain the responsibility of the patrol constable.

Police managers must decide how to structure the activities of their personnel in order to best achieve the goals of the organization. The benefits and disadvantages of specialization must be assessed in terms of the established community defined goals of the organization. The development of a community-oriented police professional can only be accomplished by giving line constables a level of decision-making responsibility that is commensurate with true professionalism.

REWARD SYSTEMS AND COMMUNITY GOAL ATTAINMENT

Individuals in any organization will perform in accordance with expectations if appropriate incentives and rewards are tied to performance. Policing presents some special problems in this regard. Because so much of the police mandate is complex, ambiguous and therefore hard to evaluate, there has evolved a tendency in policing to tie performance to those aspects of police work that can be easily quantified. Rigid adherence to departmental rules, policies and procedures and the production of formal, quantifiable evidence of individual crime-related activity, has produced narrow and inadequate performance criteria. Bittner (1970), in a perceptive analysis of the traditional reward system in the police bureaucracies, makes the following observations:

> But since the established standard and the rewards for good behavior relate almost entirely to matters connected with internal discipline, the judgements that are passed have virtually nothing to do with the work of the policeman in the community --- that recognition is given for doing well in the department and not outside where all the real duties are located ---. Because the real work of policemen is not set forth in the regulations it does not furnish his superior a basis for judging him. At the same time there are no strong compelling reasons for the policeman to do well in ways that do not count in terms of official occupational criteria of value. --- The message is quite

> plain: the development of resolutely careful work methods in the community may be nice but it gets you nowhere.
>
> (Bittner, 1970:54)

Departmental regulations, disciplinary codes and rewards for production of crime-related statistics, tend to encourage conservative, rule-oriented members with narrow law enforcement role biases. As community-based policing is premised on a broad and more balanced conception of the police role with an emphasis on non law enforcement aspects of police work, traditional reward structures are problematic. In order to encourage the kind of individual performance that would allow a community-based police organization to meet its objectives, a more comprehensive system of performance incentives, aimed at rewarding community-related police activities, will have to be developed. Unfortunately the preference for so-called hard measures of performance make this more of a problem for community-based police activities where qualitative performance is the most important element in assessing effectiveness. For example, how does one measure the performance of a constable in activities such as family dispute settlement, the development of good police/community relations, crime prevention effectiveness, creative problem solving, etc. While it should be possible to develop such measures, they will have to be accorded the same degree of organizational significance as traditional crime-related measures if the organization hopes to encourage these activities.

> Incentives should be chosen using a managerial perspective; that is, they should be aimed at encouraging attainment of a force's objective--in order to be effective, however, information about personnel's contributions to force objectives must not only be gathered, it must be seen to be gathered and to be used in allocating rewards. It is important to distinguish between espoused incentives; those actually used and those perceived to be used.
>
> (Neave, et al., 1982)

Community-based policing must create a direct link between formal organizational statements of operational goals and an appropriate system of rewards and incentives that will effectively motivate goal-oriented behaviour. Inconsistency between what the organization publicly advocates (crime prevention/community relations, community problem solving, etc.), and what it operationally rewards (crime functions only), creates a level of cynicism in both line staff and the community that reduces police programming to public relations.

DISCUSSION

The adoption of the most appropriate and effective mode of organizing the delivery of community-based police services is the central issue addressed in this section. Criticisms of the traditional military-bureaucratic approach in structuring the command and management of policing have prompted the development of alternative organizational methods for police service delivery. Specifically, it has been argued that police organizations that are structured at the community level, with a decentralized mode of decision making, enhanced responsibilities for patrol constables, coupled and appropriate performance incentives, can best meet the objectives of community-based policing.

MANAGING HUMAN RESOURCES: EDUCATION, RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING

The police response to social pressures for change has traditionally taken place under the rubric of 'upgrading the police' (Saunders, 1970). Because police work is labour intensive, it is not surprising that many reform strategies have concentrated on personnel improvement and methods of human resource development. This section will deal with these human resource strategies and includes discussions pertaining to recruitment and selection, education and training, and career opportunities. Each of these areas has been extensively researched; however, this discussion will be restricted to issues which the authors deem most pertinent to community-based police management.

Community-based policing requires that line personnel possess the intellectual skills to apply themselves to a diverse range of tasks and community problems, consistent with policing objectives. Supervisory personnel require the expertise to use existing human resource potential. Management personnel at all levels need to recognize and develop levels of community competence and direct these community resources in concert with their own organizational resources.

The important question thus becomes: what are the specific human resource requirements for community-based policing?

THE ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXT: A PROPER FOCUS FOR UPGRADING THE POLICE

The community-based policing model is consistent with numerous police reform strategies in that it urges the police to confront the realities of a constantly changing and complex task environment. It is premised upon the belief that the police can do a better job by recruiting better people, whom in turn will produce better work. However, emphasis on improving the individual police officer loses sight of the original intent; that is, upgrading the organizational objectives of policing in general. (Lewis, 1976; Sherman, 1978; Martin, 1979). The Canadian police community, in the absence of an independent research and literature base, has followed the American emphasis on individual as opposed to organizational improvement.

> Attracting better people to the same old job is not necessarily an improvement. In the case of the police, it may simply mean that college graduates will be busting heads instead of high school dropouts.
>
> (Balch, 1972:119).

Without losing sight of the need for qualified personnel, the community-based model stresses the importance of a well developed policing philosophy, articulated through clear, attainable goals and objectives, delivered by a distinctive organizational structure. An upgrading process must first create a favourable organizational climate so as to accommodate individual skills and abilities. (Schneider & Snyder, 1975; Lafollette, 1975). In short, organizational reform must precede personnel development or significant improvement in human resource potential will not be realized.

The central question thus becomes: Is change best achieved by selecting better people within the existing organization or by shaping the existing organization (philosophies, structures) to accommodate necessary change? In order for community-based policing to become a viable alternative to existing methods of policing, it must first receive explicit support by the senior executive within the police agency. Once this has occurred, the upgrading initiative must simultaneously address the issues of improving 'both men and methods' (Carte, 1976). Clearly, this calls for key decisions regarding proper methods of service delivery, appropriate methods of meeting these objectives, and the kinds of people required to respond to these new challenges. This is a complex problem and will necessarily include recruiting the 'right kind of people', upgrading those already in place and basing police training processes on community policing objectives.

RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION

The community-based model acknowledges that unprecedented demands are being placed on police personnel in order to adequately respond to the complex needs and concerns emanating from changing communities. Selecting suitable personnel to meet the challenge becomes crucial for two very important reasons:

- The task of making community-based policing work falls squarely on the shoulders of the constable and those who interact directly with the public.
- The task of managing and administering the delivery of the service will be inherited by this same generation of policemen.

With regards to the first point, community-based policing advocates 'constable-centered management' (Task Force On Policing in Ontario, 1974). This position simply acknowledges that the end product of policing is delivered by the constable and that the burden of responsibility for sound decision making falls on his/her shoulders. Goldstein (1981) asserts that the greatest capacity for problem identification and formulation of problem-oriented policy decisions lies with those who deal directly with the community. A shift of management emphasis to decision making at this level, requires highly developed decision making skills and other management attributes not usually associated with rank and file field personnel.

With regards to the second point, under current arrangements, managerial personnel are selected from those who begin their service as constables and progressed up the organizational ladder.[2] Current recruiting practices must reflect new requirements for future community-based police management.

> The need is for the raw material to be available from which the most senior police personnel as fully rounded public policy-makers can be developed.
>
> (Grant, 1980:49)

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[2] Until such time as lateral entry or other rapid advancement options are explored and implemented, this observation is of key importance. (See Grant, 1980 for further discussion.)

The present economy has created a labour market which provides ample opportunity for the police to recruit from among a competitive, ambitious and well-qualified group of applicants. This group offers a new level of human resource potential for community-based policing. Under present circumstances, there is little reason for not seeking out and recruiting from this group.

HIGHER EDUCATION FOR THE POLICE: PUTTING THE ISSUE IN PERSPECTIVE

The discussion surrounding higher education for the police represents a 'variation on a theme' of the general upgrading process. The police, at present, still grapple with the same perplexing issues that confronted early police reformers. Higher education should simply be one facet of what should be a broad-based strategy to upgrade police services. However, the police education issue has been developed independently of broader systemic issues which have more impact on the delivery of police services. As a consequence, much of the research, which attempts to demonstrate a direct relationship between levels of education and police performance, has had mixed results (Guyot, 1975; Balch, 1972). Education by itself is not enough to produce significant results. However, education in combination with other organizational and management factors does produce results (Sherman, 1978). Martin (1977: 11) observes that "much of the issue is irrelevant and has had the effect of distracting attention from other real issues." The real issue, identified by both Martin and Sherman, is the general organizational goal of more effective police departmental performance.

Within this context, education becomes a valuable organizational resource and part of an overall change strategy geared to respond to the challenges and complexities of contemporary society.

> No matter how high the quality of police education, education alone cannot change the police. New organization design, better management and community leadership are also necessary conditions of change. The potential contribution of higher education to police work will not be realized until police department policies generally treat education as a resource rather than a threat.
>
> (Sherman, 1978:2)

Higher education alone is not likely to increase an individual's propensity to challenge organizationally-accepted practices and traditional methods. But if education in police organizations is recognized as a valuable (human) resource and utilized effectively, positive results will follow. The community-based model provides ample justification for using higher education standards to effect organizational change. Masini (cited in Sherman, 1978:49) asserts that such personnel should be able to effect change not only in the police department but in the community as well.

> We have to have officers skilled enough to get out there in the community, identify those groups that are representative of the community, be able to bring them together in meetings, be able to sit down with them and talk about problems, and then be able to do something. If we can use the skills that are being taught (namely problem identification, analysis and development of alternatives), that's what the term change agent implies.

Goldstein (1977:297), as well, argues convincingly that in order to effect change, the police will need the kind of understanding and perception that follows from a general liberal arts and social science background. In order to develop the capacity to handle complex abstract issues and function in an unstructured environment, such education will prove invaluable. Analytic problem solving and crime analysis skills require a specific educational background which emphasizes research methodology, mathematics, statistics, reasoning and logic, etc. The community-based model requires these skills, attainable through higher education, to meet specific community policing goals. Education can then become an invaluable resource if linked to organizational needs and goals.

EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT IN CANADIAN POLICING

A survey of the Canadian police community indicated that only 20% of the respondents had acquired education beyond the high school level (Martin, 1977). It was further noted that when post-secondary education was reported, it consisted mainly of partially completed university degrees or college diplomas. If there is any credence to the notion that the police should be representative of the communities they serve, then it can be concluded that the present arrangement is clearly inadequate.

From a pragmatic perspective, it is not just a matter of status acquisition or increased police professionalism (Carte, 1976; Price, 1977).[3] The community-based model requires an enhanced educational capability in order to manage the complex challenges that change implies. The problem thus becomes developing an educational repertoire within the organization, through its human resources, which is capable of responding to the challenges at hand.

> If the police ignore this problem (of education), they risk allowing their plans always to be made for them by civil servants. They are being forced into a greater role in a more complex society and are faced with the

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[3] The Canadian police are regarded as having a comparatively high-ranking occupational status; ranking 85th of 480 selected Canadian occupations (Blishen, 1979:13).

> choice of being junior technicians or fully-rounded professionals. They have not yet decided.
>
> (Lewis, 1976)

RATIONALIZING THE TRAINING PROCESS

Both education and training are integral parts of the overall upgrading process and have traditionally been dealt with as discrete parts of the same process. Education deals with the concepts and the 'whys', whereas the 'how to' or the doing of the task is left to training (Santarelli, 1974; Smith & Ostrum, 1974). The important issue is that the upgrading process be ongoing. This includes three basic components: skill acquisition, internalizing professional standards and broadening awareness (Anderson, 1977). Increasingly it is being argued that training, to be effective, must be rationalized in order to be timely and relevant to the needs of those being trained.

Criticisms, however, have been levelled at the existing recruit training environment and its inability to prepare police officers for the complex 'service' oriented tasks which confront them (Campbell & Formby, 1977). Denyer, et al., (1975) have alluded to the 'enforcement myth' which pervades much recruit and inservice training. The need exists for training which is pragmatic and reflects the complete realities of field policing. This means dispelling time-honoured misconceptions associated with the narrow crime fighting role model (Steinbery & McEvoy, 1974; Badalemente, et al, 1973; Teasley & Wright, 1973). Recent Canadian research argues that training that does not relate the realities of actual police work may cause disillusionment and unfulfilled expectations early on in a policeman's career (Cooper, 1982). The contrast between what is expected and what is experienced can be reduced, he argues, by the greater use of realism in training processes; i.e., providing opportunities for trainees to interview job incumbents, viewing video-taped interviews with incumbents performing their work on typical days and reading realistic accounts of police work.

> A greater use of realism in recruitment and training can help to reduce some adjustment costs. Reducing these costs is desirable because they have an impact on individual job performance and affect the ability of the Force to meet its mandate from the community.
>
> (Cooper, 1982:110)

CAREER OPPORTUNITIES IN POLICING: THE COMING CRISIS

Police departments throughout Canada are currently faced with the prospects of budgetary cut-backs and hiring restrictions. Attrition rates have recently dropped to a fraction of their previous levels. Promotional and advancement opportunities have become scarce or non-existent. Present mobility arrangements in most agencies, predicated on a vertical rank hierarchy, allow little latitude for the police executive to recognize and reward those worthy of advancement. This scenario may be aggravated by the prospects of increasing the age of retirement, thus increasing the length of tenure for those who would otherwise be leaving so that others might take their place.

A period of promotional stagnation is developing in police forces throughout this country, and policemen at all levels are finding their career aspirations frustrated. A personnel problem of crisis proportion may result from the conflict between personal expectations for promotion and limited organizational opportunities to accommodate advancement. It is apparent that this troublesome situation will have lasting effects on issues of job satisfaction, levels of motivation and the overall quality of police performance. One of the greatest management challenges of this decade will be to resolve this problem.

A clue as to how this problem might be addressed is found in a recent consultant's report to the Toronto Metropolitan Police Force. Under the caption of 'A Change in Attitude' the report addresses the problem of traditional advancement procedures:

> The problem is compounded when one further considers the relatively low manpower turnover rate within the Force and the generally wide held view that not to be promoted is to be held out as a failure. The point is clear, while promotional opportunities will always exist, the long-term constable must be encouraged to think of the job of a first class constable, given its extensive training, experience and important responsibilities, as being a good career in itself and as one that should be aspired to. It is a major attitude change that will need to be instilled within the Force and one which will need to be initiated and constantly reinforced by chiefs and senior officers.
>
> (Hickling & Johnston, 1982:26)

The ramifications of this 'change of attitude' will have a lasting effect on the nature and structure of the organization itself. The authors believe that this position is pragmatic and consistent with the concept of constable-centered management as well as the community-based model.

The existing rank structure alluded to in this observation deserves further attention; ironically, it is this existing structure which is the source of so much consternation and discontent, yet remains the only outlet for fulfilling expectations for reward and advancement. Dr. J. McGinnis, of the Canadian Police College, is presently conducting research on police career development issues (forthcoming). It is his view that in order to realign present career expectations with present organizational realities, serious consideration must be given to selectively removing some supervisory levels thus giving implicit meaning to the notion of a career-oriented constabulary. Only by changing the nature of the existing rank continuum will expectations come into line with the notion of a career constabulary.

THE MANAGEMENT CHALLENGE: IMPROVING POLICE PERSONNEL WITHOUT CAREER MOBILITY

The community-based model calls for qualified personnel yet also acknowledges limited vertical career mobility. At first glance, it may appear that attracting better people to a stagnant career situation will prove incompatible. Such a conclusion fails to recognize the intrinsic rewards and challenges of police work which community-based policing seeks to enhance.

> We give too little thought to the work itself, work must be more than congenial: it must be absorbing, meaningful and challenging. There just isn't any "work" as inherently rich in these qualities as police work, yet in many cases we have done such a successful job of strangling and stifling the juices out of the "work" that we now find ourselves searching for ways to make it interesting.
>
> (Reddin, 1966, quoted in Cordner, 1978:201)

The community-based model acknowledges the potential for enriching police work while systematically controlling for those factors which are responsible for 'strangling and stifling the juices out of the work.' Such factors include over-bureaucratization, rigid supervision, excessive control incongruent reward structures, and inadequately defined roles. Constable-centered management suggests how these factors might be overcome. A tenure track system could be put in place which will keep bright and promising people actively involved at the line level. New methods of acknowledging and rewarding quality work, excellence and expertise in various areas must be developed (i.e., problem solving, decision making ability, crisis intervention aptitude, inter-personal skills, etc.).[4] General duty patrol work must become much more than an occupational mode where personnel 'mark time' in anticipation of better things to come.

Properly implemented, the community-based model provides ample opportunity for absorbing, meaningful and challenging work. However, in light of present arrangements this will require special engineering of the organizational structure and task composition in line with constable-centered policing.

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[4] Some research suggests that a lateral-skill continuum similar to military trades qualifications might ease present advancement difficulties. In this case, salary and status benefits are accorded those who develop specific skill expertise and meet prescribed qualifications. This strategy serves to keep capable and talented personnel at the line level by enhancing 'horizontal mobility.' (Swanson, 1977)

Many existing community professions manage to attract and retain high calibre personnel with expectations of serving in their respective fields without the enticements of rapid career advancement. For instance, teachers are hired from the universities to teach, public health nurses are hired from institutions to nurse, and social workers are hired from schools of social work to function at the community level as practitioners. All of these callings have 'splayed' or flattened organizational structures whereby most of the incumbents practice their chosen profession--at the community level--and are supported by a comparatively small management/administrative support network. Presumably, there is much less preoccupation and discontent with promotion simply because the opportunities do not exist. There is no stigma attached to the teacher who begins and ends his/her career in the classroom. Why is it then that a policeman who begins and ends his career as a constable is presumed to be a failure?

MANAGING ORGANIZATIONAL PERFORMANCE: THE ISSUE OF POLICE PRODUCTIVITY AND ORGANIZATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS

Police productivity has become an increasingly important issue as financial constraints create new pressures for public service institutions to demonstrate that tax-based resources are being used effectively and efficiently. Like all public service institutions, the police have had significant problems in developing appropriate performance measures, as both the diverse nature of the police mandate and a lack of consensus on the objectives of policing have made it difficult to establish meaningful performance criteria.

Before discussing these problems further, it would be helpful first to establish some definition of the inter-related but distinctive concepts involved in the issue of productivity. Lunney (1980:6) offers the following definition:

> There are two kinds of indicators, effectiveness and efficiency. Effectiveness is achieving defined results or outcomes without regard for money or manpower. Efficiency is achieving any given result with a minimum expenditure of effort. More succinctly, effectiveness is doing the right things, efficiency is doing things right. Productivity is a combination of the two concepts.

Productivity, then, asks whether a desired result was achieved (the effectiveness question) and what resources were consumed to achieve it (the efficiency question). Thus, a productive organization uses its resources efficiently to achieve desired results in line with the stated goals or objectives of the organization.

Successful performance in the private sector is premised on satisfying the expressed and explicit needs of a specific clientele. However, the police, like all public service institutions, are paid from a fixed budget. Performance is loosely related to budget allocation and not necessarily to substantive outcomes or client-oriented satisfaction. Budget-based performance measures often create contradictory organizational pressures. For example, if the goal of policing, as it is traditionally suggested, is the control of crime, then reducing crime rates has few organizational rewards. Police budgets increase when crime rates increase and decrease correspondingly with lower crime rates. Thus, instead of rewarding police organizations for reducing crime, budget based performance ironically rewards a lack of organizational effectiveness.

Real performance in policing requires a more sophisticated and realistic process of objective setting and effectiveness measurement. Goldstein (1981) suggests that this process should:

- define what police business is and what it should be in terms of organization or mission;
- derive clear objectives and goals from such a definition;
- set priorities in order to select targets and to set standards of accomplishment and performance, i.e., minimum acceptable results;

- identify and define measurements of performance;
- use these measurements to provide feedback on their efforts;
- provide a systematic review of objectives and results.

Community-based policing argues that the mandate of the police is the provision of a variety of services which have an impact on the general peace, order and security of the community. Keeping in mind that the police are only one of several agencies that affect this social mandate, the multiple goals inherent in this general statement of mission suggest that a variety of performance measures may be desirable. Various concerns such as crime rates, crime prevention, public education, public safety, victim services and fear reduction reflect diverse aspects of the police role.

A comparative study of eighteen small Canadian police departments (Jobson & Schneck, 1982) assessed police effectiveness by developing multiple index measures using both internal policing and external community data. Translating their basic premise that organizational effectiveness is what the relevant parties (police and community) think it should be, they developed ten different measures of organizational effectiveness. Police data and survey analysis yielded four internal organizational measures: crime rate levels, clearance rates, Force performance rating and perceived effectivenes. The six community-based effectiveness variables were citizen perceived safety of the environment, police style, task performance, importance of police services and participation in the community. Their findings demonstrate the complex and sometimes conflicting relationship between performance measures. Their work does, however, establish that organizational effectiveness is in the eye of the beholder and that the police would be well advised to develop a number of effectiveness indicators for various client groups. Community perceptions of police effectiveness should become an established part of the evaluation criteria for performance measures of community-based policing.

The need to articulate sub-goals or objectives within broad-goal categories should allow more precise performance evaluation to be developed. Problem-oriented policing, advocates isolating discrete problem areas as organizationally-defined objectives. Specific problems identified by the community become established operational goals for a department. For example, drunk drivers may be defined as a discrete problem for a particular community police agency. By defining clearly attainable goals within this problem area (i.e., a reduction of alcohol-related traffic fatalities), the organization can explore the dimensions of the problem, devise various response strategies and monitor and evaluate the impact of the strategies. Linking specific activities to discrete organizational objectives means that effective performance is 'result' and not 'process' based. Thus, increasing charges for drinking driving is not an organizational goal in itself, but the 'means' for producing an effect on a problem. Organizational performance can only be evaluated by linking activities to substantive outcomes or effects. The productive community-based police organization is one which uses organizational resources efficiently in order to have identifiable and measurable effects on substantive community problems.

MANAGING ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

The ultimate objective of any effort to change the police must be to increase their capacity to deliver high quality police services to a community, consistent with democratic values and local needs (Goldstein, 1977:307). The major reasons for change (discussed fully in the first section of this report) are the gradual shift of responsibility for community crime and order problems from the public to the police, the inability of sizeable police budget expenditures to adequately cope with existing crime and order problems and the realization that the police themselves have a limited ability to control crime and causes of crime (Heywood, 1979; Grant, 1979; Wilson & Kelling, 1982). Engstad & Evans (1980:142) note that these developments:

> ...together with increased demands for fiscal, legal and social accountability; changes in the economic, social and demographic characteristics of communities; advances in technology and management philosophy; and challenges to traditional police beliefs and time honoured practices; are having an unsettling influence on the institution of policing and appear to be provoking in Canada and other Western societies, a re-examination of the nature and extent of police services and the methods of their delivery.

The community-based policing model represents a logical response to these social pressures and can be viewed as a change strategy which adjusts traditional notions of the police role in order to meet the changing demands of the community environment.

This section will address some specific issues subsumed under the broader heading of organizational change, i.e., why change is appropriate now; change which recognizes the difference between 'means and ends'; resistance to change; incremental versus radical change; planned versus reactive change; and the contribution of the community in affecting change in policing.

> The objective of organizational change is to enable movement towards increased organizational effectiveness. It is not a question

> of whether or not the Force can afford the luxury of such change; it is a question of whether or not the Force can afford the consequences of maintaining the status quo where change is occurring all around us.
>
> (Heywood, 1977:15)

WHY CHANGE IS APPROPRIATE NOW?

The community-based policing model embodies notable departures from traditional philosophies and methods of policing.[5] Historically, police reform efforts have attempted to improve policing by concentrating predominantly on internal management issues, i.e., upgrading personnel by selected education and training methods, upgrading hardware and gagetry, accumulating state of the art technology, becoming more business like and or bureaucratic and reworking organizational structures. This process has contributed to the rather nebulous cause of professionalism but has not necessarily improved the actual delivery or effectiveness of police services. The investment of time, energy and financial resources, in the absence of performance-based goals and objectives, has produced marginal or mixed results in improving police services. Goldstein (1979:181) argues convincingly that police performance, in this sense, is in a 'holding pattern'. Faced with a general no-growth situation, senior police administrators are understandably reticent to develop new agendas or promote organizational improvements predicated on the tenuous results of past efforts. Similarly, governing officials are reluctant to appropriate still more funds without greater assurance that budgetary investments will have a domonstrated impact on specific problems of community concern. The time is right to press for a greater concern with substantive (problem-oriented) matters, rather than fine tuning the means used to reach undefined objectives.

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[5] The authors acknowledge the major contribution of Herman Goldstein through three recent publications:

Goldstein, H. Policing A Free Society. Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Publishing Co., 1977

Goldstein, H. "Improving Policing: A Problem Oriented Approach." Crime & Delinquency, Vol. 25, N. 2, p. 236-258.

Goldstein, H. "The Problem-Oriented Approach to Improving Police Service". Unpublished paper. Madison, Wisc.: Univ. of Wisconsin, Law School, March 1981 (4 Vols).

> The police have been particularly susceptible to the "means over ends" syndrome, placing more emphasis in their improvement efforts on organization and operating methods than on the substantive outcome of their work. This condition has been fed by the professional movement within the police field, with its concentration on the staffing, management, and organization of police agencies. More and more persons are questioning the widely held assumption that improvements in internal management of police departments will enable the police to deal more effectively with the problems they are called upon to handle. If the police are to realize a greater return on

> the investment made in improving their operations, and if they are to mature as a profession, they must concern themselves more with the end product of their efforts.
>
> (Goldstein, 1979:236)

Goldstein (1979) observes that bureaucracies run the risk of becoming so preoccupied with running their organizations, that they are distracted from the primary purpose for which they were created. The police, he claims, are unusually susceptible to this phenomenon. Like all public service institutions, the police are paid out of a budget rather than for specific results (Drucker, 1977:144). It is reasonable to assume that if the police expect to successfully compete for their share of the community budget (along with social services, health services, public education, transportation, public works, etc.), they will increasingly have to justify their demands through a demonstrated ability to produce identifiable results. There will inevitably be increasing pressure to illustrate the relationship between the use of police resources and specific problems of concern to the community. Policing has yet to feel the impact of 'consumer advocacy' (Goldstein, 1981:25). As the communities press for demonstrated improvements in police service delivery, improvements will be measured in terms of results. For instance, those concerned with the problem of 'battered women' are only marginally concerned with whether the police respond to such calls with the assistance of computer-aided dispatch, whether there are one or two policemen in a car, whether the personnel are short or tall, male or female, represent the ethnic make-up of the community, or possess academic credentials. They are concerned about what the police can and will do for the battered woman. Thus, the community-based model, as a change strategy, shifts attention to the end product of policing.

RESISTANCE TO CHANGE: COSTS AND BENEFITS

The authors would argue that the cumulative weight of information presented in the first two reports of this project offers sufficient rationale to support change. However, the strength of the rationale is important as change by its very nature is disruptive, costly and likely to be accompanied by unanticipated consequences (Wycoff, 1980). MacDonald (1980:16) asserts that only when it is obvious that roles, management goals and broad objectives would be more readily accomplished with different structures, should change or reorganization occur.

Numerous factors can affect the success of organizational change: traditional complacency inherent in the paramilitary organizational structure (Kelling & Kliesmet, 1971), vested interests in maintaining existing rank structures and the status quo (Bordua & Reiss, 1966), mistrust of the rationale for change, defective communication of the rationale (Meyer, 1978), a lack of specific goals, fear of failure, and unmeasurable consequences.[6]

> ...reacting to innovations (changes) are likely to be a function of the degree to which the organization members perceive the innovations as relevant.
>
> (Nord, 1975:14)

With regards to the community-based model, this point is crucial. Because the costs in terms of disruption and discontent are so great, both community governing bodies and police administrators alike will apply pressures to demonstrate in advance that the results of change efforts are likely to influence the quality of police services sufficiently to make the struggle worthwhile (Goldstein, 1981:26).

INCREMENTAL VERSUS RADICAL CHANGE

> Radicalness' is the extent to which an implemented change implies alterations and disruptions in the various subsystems of the organization or in the behavior patterns of its members. Subsystems include: information, values, incentives, power, etc.
>
> (Zaltman et al., 1973:24)

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[6] Wycoff & Kelling (1978) provide a valuable account of the resistance problems associated with radical organizational change in a large U.S. police department.

The police organization within the community is deeply enmeshed in the social, legal, economic and historical forces which has shaped it. This adds to the complexity of organizational change. Police organizations are not isolated or passive recipients of internal or external influences. As a part of a collection of subsystems, it exists interactively with each organization of the system shaping and constraining the others (Wycoff, 1980:IV-4). Any effort to change the nature of one element in an interactive relationship may impact on other elements and so cause repercussions which may or may not have been intended or anticipated.

It has been stated that the community-based model implies a change in traditional policing philosophies and roles. Translation of these principles into action (i.e., objectives and goals) will determine the nature and extent of organizational change required. The problem-oriented approach, central to the community-based model, is situational. Specific resources and methods of application are directed towards particular problems. The magnitude and complexity of a particular problem, along with the capability factor of both police and community resources, will dictate to what extent structural change is required to produce desired results. A focus on discrete policing problems tempers sweeping organizational change with the pragmatic concern for minimizing internal disruptions while maximizing results. The community-based approach endorses the notion of moderate, incremental change. The frequently quoted adage 'there is no substitute for success' is appropriate in this context. Success is measured in terms of concrete results. Results are much more evident and amenable to proper measurement techniques through programs tailored to deal with discrete problems. Resource costs can be directly attributed to specific organizational outputs. Knowledge, expertise and experince gained from controlled change efforts are transferable and can be used to address other persistent problems.

PLANNED VERSUS REACTIVE CHANGE

The police generally provide services in a reactive mode. They respond to events after the fact and as such spend an inordinate amount of 'today's time' dealing with 'yesterday's problem'. Calls for services, as the basic unit of police work, makes the business of the police the accumulation of such calls (Goldstein, 1981:45). Furthermore, the police are generally content to believe that they can be 'change oriented' simply by retooling existing reactive strategies to subtle changes in overall patterns of calls for service (as a reflection of existing crime and order problems).

The community-based model calls for two marked departures from this reactive stance. First, with respect to the problem-oriented approach, it calls for changing the perspective of the police executive to one in which an accumulation of like incidents are grouped as problems. For example, a rash of residential break and enters become more than a sequential array of discrete criminal events; it becomes a targetable problem which includes such variables as an identifiable offender population, discernible modus operandi characteristics, identifiable environmental opportunities for further offences, situational contributors to the problem (pinball arcades, subsidized housing projects), socio-economic contributors, and a host of community facilities with a vested interest in resolving the problem. Secondly, it calls for a planned approach to community problem solving. Problem solving techniques suggest an approach which will develop an analysis of persistent problems, current responses, problem identification, marshalling appropriate resources from within the agency and the community and evaluate their effects. Because the police offer a frontline service in the community, they accumulate a rich source of information and insight that can be used to define and clarify existing community problems.

This rather 'aggressive partnership' with the community raises important issues. If the police are expected to play a more proactive and high profile role within the community regarding problem solving, they must take into consideration the mandate and strategies of other social agencies. The responses of other agencies may contribute to the substance or the solution of the problem. Understanding the nature of these other responses may identify overlaps and conflicts that result in the police and other community helping agencies working at cross purposes (Goldstein, 1981:60).

The importance of appreciating the total community response to a problem is illustrated in the police response to the mentally ill or chronic alcholic. On one hand, the public calls for a level of 'public order' which precludes forms of behaviour exhibited by those afflicted with (peripheral) mental disorder or by chronic inebriation. Yet, recent trends towards de-institutionalization summarily place these same individuals back into the community. The police, with their order maintenance mandate, find themselves clearly at odds with community mental health and social services 'welfare mandates'. 'The problem' for the police may not be simply a proliferation of disturbance/

order-related calls for service but the disparity which exists between community norms and the formal mandates of its helping agencies.

A planned approach to such problems requires that the police look outside the bounds of their traditional response mandate. It may be that such problems are only marginal police responsibilities. Successful intervention requires a co-ordinated community-based effort with shared responsibilities. A reasoned response by the police may include simply stating the inherent conflicts which exist, thus influencing decision making by community governing bodies. If the police have done their homework by conducting indepth studies directed at substantive problems, they will have a far more effective voice in community decision making. However, it may be that the community who will ultimately dictate the nature and extent of police change.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE COMMUNITY IN EFFECTING CHANGE WITHIN POLICING

In an atmosphere of constant change and uncertainty, planning for the future may seem futile or irrelevant. The need for change may be recognized but relegated to a low priority; as something to turn to at a later date when present pressures have subsided. Ultimately, policing objectives and the degree to which police succeed in achieving them will be determined by the needs, interests and support of the community. Communities vary a great deal in their make up and while support for needed change is untenable in some jurisdictions, the attitude will vary substantially in others. To the degree that some progress is realized in communities where change is welcomed and managed properly, it may stimulate change elsewhere. Community attitudes are strongly influenced by the police. It is not surprising that people see policing in simplistic terms and sometimes decline to support needed change. The police themselves and the media convey misleading messages about their capabilities by insisting that crime control tasks are easily achievable, if the police have more resources, less burdensome service demands, less restrictive budgets, better equipment, more manpower, more powers, etc. Instead, the community should be made aware that:

> - that the police operation they take such comfort in is extremely limited in effect;
> - limitations on government expenditures are going to make it impossible to maintain--let alone expand --the present form of policing;
> - that new ways will have to be found to deal with complex problems that have been previously dealt with by simply assigning additional manpower.
>
> (Goldstein, 1979)

An increased level of candor between the police and the community will mean that public expectations will fit the realities of organizational possibility.

> This emphasis on the extent to which improved policing, in the end, depends on the community will remind some of the old saying that a community receives the quality of policing it deserves. But, for this axiom to have meaning today when our society is so complex, requires that citizens be sufficiently aware of the intricacies of police functioning to know what they can demand and how different demands will effect the quality of police services.
>
> (Goldstein, 1977, p.233)

MANAGING POLICE INFORMATION SYSTEMS (M.I.S.)

New technology has always had a dramatic impact on policing. The introduction of police call boxes, cars, radio communication, etc., have transformed traditional methods of policing and reshaped the nature of police work itself. Similarly the use of computer technology in policing promises to transform the way police organizations operate and more importantly are managed. Management information systems (MIS) currently in use in various police organizations have already changed the way information is communicated, stored and analyzed in contemporary policing. Further developments in both the technology upon which these systems are based and more effective and informed use of these systems by operational and management personnel, promises to create a new style of policing and police management. In relation to community-based policing, management information systems potentially offer a more effective and efficient delivery of general police services in a community.

A management information system is fundamentally a tool for controlling and using information for police decision making. An extensive study of police management systems by Decision Dynamics Corporation (Zaharachuk, et al., 1978: Vol. 4,10) for the Ministry of the Solicitor General defines M.I.S. as follows:

> Simply stated, a management information system can be defined as a tool used to organize and control the information resources of an organization in an efficient and effective manner in order to support decision making at all levels of the organization.

All police departments have an M.I.S. system of some kind in place, whether it is a simple file card system or a sophisticated computerized dispatch system. The current use of computers to duplicate and expand manual information systems offer policing a more complex, efficient and potentially effective tool for managing, processing and communicating this information.

M.I.S. holds particular importance for policing because of the amount, complexity, resource time and operational importance of information processing, that characterizes police operations. A fundamental part of the business of police departments is information gathering, storing and analysis.

> Few police managers are fully aware of the total dedication of resources within their own organization, for preparing, storing and retrieving information for field operators and management purposes. Patrol constables spend a large portion of their working time preparing occurrence reports and related information for storage and record systems and criminal investigation. The central record section of a police department is composed of police and civilian personnel who spend all their time storing and processing this information. Senior management by virtue of its more general responsibility spends a large portion of its time manipulating numbers and creating information for decision making. The processing of information is probably the most expensive service performed by police departments.
>
> (Zaharachuk, et al., 1978:Vol.4, 21)

Some of the problems that police organizations are currently experiencing are directly related to the use, storage and resource time required to maintain this information flow. Getting the information and storing it has absorbed most police resources, while retrieval and analysis has suffered as a consequence. Modern police departments are simply awash in information, files, reports, etc., to the point where operational requirements have been impeded. For example, the recently retired Chief Constable of the West Yorkshire Police Department suggested in a recent newspaper article that the absence of an effective M.I.S. system had allowed the notorious Yorkshire Ripper to evade early arrest.

> He admitted police interviewed the ripper on nine different occasions and Sutcliffe would have gone free the tenth time in 1981 if he had not confessed. Gregory blamed the ineptitude on bureaucratic paperwork. "Our filing system was in chaos" wrote Gregory. "At times there was a nine month backlog of reports and statements waiting to be cross-indexed. The inadequacies of our own system were giving Sutcliffe his escape route.
>
> (The Ottawa Citizen, June 27, 1983:12)

Excessive amounts of information and ineffective systems for retrieval and analysis constitute a major problem for both management and operational staff in policing. Management information systems are designed to address this problem by providing three basic information services: field support information, patrol and investigative data, performance information data, allowing review of individual and collective organizational performance and planning information data past, present and probable future trends. Delivering this kind of information an effective M.I.S. system should result in:

- more effective management,
- a better understanding of organizational objectives,
- better decision making,
- higher quality staff and managers,
- a better organizational structure,
- a higher quality of training,
- a better allocation of scarce resources,
- a higher productivity, and
- better service.

(Zaharachuk, et al., 1978:Vol.4, 10)

Computerized police information systems vary dramatically in their size, cost, complexity and purpose. This review cannot cover the many examples of computerized systems currently in use in North America or do justice to the long-range planned innovations that lie ahead. This is not the mandate of this project and would require a level of expertise beyond those of the authors. Instead, a general assessment is offered of how management information systems can address the specific needs of community-based policing.[7]

MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SYSTEMS AND COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING

Management information systems in policing, as in other areas of organizational management, have been designed to enhance the ability of police managers to make management of complex organizations more of a science; that is, decision making based on reliable, precise, quantifiable information about what has happened in the past, what is presently happening in the organization and what will probably happen in the future. While police management is still an art and decisions will still depend upon individual perceptions, expertise and personal insights, these decisions can now be complemented by a wealth of factual empirical data.

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[7] For a more comprehensive review of this subject, a series of reports commissioned by the Solicitor General of Canada by Decision Dynamics Corporation (Zaharachuk, et al., 1978) can be reviewed. They provide an excellent overview of the background and development of MIS systems in Canada and the U.S. and some explicit guidelines and models for police managers considering their introduction.

The increasing complexity of internal police operations and escalating demands for public accountability have made it necessary for police managers to be able to display new levels of management expertise. Policing must now not only be seen as cost-efficient but must also be seen as cost-effective. To do this, a police manager must have a comprehensive and detailed understanding of how his resources are currently being utilized and also must be able to demonstrate that they are having measurable effects upon the goals of the organization. An effective M.I.S. system in the community-based police organization should be able to provide the police manager with an increased understanding of how his organization is currently performing and factual data from which to evaluate its overall performance.

Generally speaking, M.I.S. systems should enhance the ability of managers to effectively meet the demands of community-based policing by: clarifying organizational objectives; providing an enhanced capacity to maintain individual and organizational performance; decentralize information and knowledge to line constables to support field operations; promote proactive planned organizational management; and, enhance managers' ability to meet new demands for public accountability.

Clarifying Organizational Objectives

In order to design an effective management information system, a clear identification of organizational objectives which can be linked to specific police activities has to be developed. When measures of specific organizational activity are linked to levels of organizational output, the police manager can link performance to effectiveness. Resource allocation can be clearly linked to specific organizational outputs. The cost of providing police services for specific operations can then be compared with alternate deployment strategies. For example, the Canadian Police College is currently developing a sophisticated simulation model for police operations which will allow managers to test various resource deployment strategies and examine their multiple effects both in the organization and in the task environment in which they operate.

> Our approach is to develop an analytic model which identifies a force's basic activities, the relation between them and the interaction of these activities with both the force's jurisdiction and the rest of the criminal justice system. That is to say, we are concerned with the economics of managing a police force, regarded as an entity rather than with an approach aimed at achieving cost savings in individual areas, for example, the reduction of clerical costs without regard to their impact on force activities. We examine relations between resource costs and force outputs and are especially concerned with balancing these cost output relations to achieve the best possible performance effects from a given set of available resources. Performance trade-offs resulting from resource allocations are developed using the model, with performance being measured in such terms as arrest, clearance rates and their economic values. In our computer simulation we employ field data wherever possible to provide a realistic characterization of model relationships.
>
> (Neave et al., 1982, p.128)

Thus, M.I.S. systems encourage a level of clarity and understanding of police operations and organizational objectives that allow realistic performance measures to be developed and used. Police managers with limited resources can then maximize the efficiency of organizational operations and evaluate its performance in terms of specific impact on stated organizational objectives.

Organizational Performance Can Be Linked By Computerized Management Information Systems to The Diverse Organizational Objectives of Community-Based Police Operations

M.I.S. offers community-based policing a greater capacity to generate measures of all police activity and thus provide a more complete description of the police role in the community. Previous measures of police performance have tended to focus on U.C.R. or crime-related aspects of police work. New management information systems offer police managers a more complete description of the full range of activities and requests for service that occupy police time and resources. The dominance of non-criminal or law enforcement activities in policing has been undermined by limited performance measures aimed at capturing only crime-related activities. Generally, this has meant that traditional performance measures ignore approximately 70% of the activities that occupy police time. The absence of recorded and quantifiable information on these various order maintenance and social service activities has meant that police managers in the past have had little control or understanding of these activities and found it difficult to present them as legitimate areas of resource allocation to the public. Crime and crime fighting activities have thus become fixed role definitions as a consequence of the extensive and exclusive use of U.C.R. data to validate police activity. As only 'recorded' police activities are used to evaluate individual performance, this makes by definition all other non-crime activities marginal or irrelevant to organizational objectives and public expectations.

M.I.S. Systems, which allow the development of descriptive statistics for the full range of police activities, enable police managers to assess performance in a more realistic and complete manner. Internally this means that the previously 'dark areas' of police activity (order maintenance and social service) can be more accurately evaluated, both in terms of individual output and in terms of their use of organizational resources. For example, just how much time is spent on domestic disputes, disturbance calls, motor vehicle accidents, etc., would be valuable information when assessing and planning the allocation of scarce police resources. More importantly, this kind of information could be used to educate the public on the full range of activities that police departments must perform and allow police managers to demonstrate the resource costs involved.

Any attempt to convince the community that alternative modes of response may be more cost-effective would be much more convincing if the police manager could demonstrate through precise figures the actual police time, resource costs, etc., in providing these activities. Thus, when organizational objectives are developed for the community-based police organization, the police manager can effectively demonstrate how these will affect his present resource allocation and what kinds of trade-offs will have to be made in order to respond to new demands.

M.I.S. Encourages Decentralized Police Service Delivery

One of the major principles of community-based policing is that police services should be geared to respond to a specific community environment. This means that response and community input must be at the local or line staff level. However, the need to decentralize service delivery by enhancing the authority and discretion of field commanders and line personnel often conflicts with the organization's need to effectively co-ordinate and control the collective operation of the entire organization. M.I.S. systems address these conflicting demands by allowing for the centralization of an expanded information base for planning and evaluation purposes at the management level, while at the same time allowing for more decentralized operations and line staff input.

An effective M.I.S. system can satisfy the demand for central organizational control of planning by providing an expanded flow of line information on the activities of various sub-units of the organization at the team, detachment or individual level. An M.I.S. system allows the police executive to have access to more information on more activities which can then be tied to individual sub-unit operational goals. Though operationally there may be less direct contact between senior management and operational staff, the improved information flow achieved by an M.I.S. system allows decentralized service delivery without a corresponding loss of central management control. M.I.S. systems allow various measures of police activity to be linked to individual zone or detachments. The use of computerized analysis allows for a constant and dynamic monitoring of activities at all levels of the organization, which in turn allows a more informed decision making process at the senior management level.

As the technology for information input can be decentralized to local detachments or satellite offices, or even motor vehicles, there is no technological reason for locating operations in one centralized building. This allows operational staff to spend more time in the community environment in which they operate. Because M.I.S. systems are designed to not only input information for management purposes, they have significant operational support functions. The autonomy of individual policemen, zone or detachment commanders to assess information also enhances the decision making capabilities of line staff. Provided with user-oriented statistics on crime patterns, calls for service, investigative information, etc., line staff can now bring a level of expertise to their work that was previously unavailable. The innovative constable, who is concerned with a particular problem on his patrol beat, should ideally be able to obtain detailed information on past occurrences, repeat calls for service, problematic addresses, etc., which can then enhance his individual effectiveness. For example, if called to a domestic dispute in his neighbourhood, readily accessible information on prior calls from the same address, occurrence information, presence of weapons, nature of prior dispute, etc., would not only allow the officer to respond more effectively but provide the officer a way of anticipating a potential threat to his own personal safety. Thus, M.I.S. systems which supply operational staff with user-oriented information, allow more professional decision making to extend throughout the organization. M.I.S. systems reinforce the constable centered notion of police operations and protects against the previous lack of information flow between line staff and management.

M.I.S. Encourages Strategic Management

Ironically, previous communications technology has enhanced the reactive nature of policing to the point where easy access to police service and rapid response technology has made police management primarily a reactive, crisis-oriented process. As a consequence, long-term management planning which anticipates future organizational requirements, environmental trends, shifting service demands, etc., has been noticeably absent in policing.

The predominance of short-run tactical planning is understandable given the crisis nature of some police work. However, the inability of the police to anticipate and therefore plan for long-term changes (10-20 yrs.) has hurt policing when faced with unexpected demands. While not all environmental contingencies can be successfully predicted, there is clearly a need for contemporary police management to involve themselves in some strategic future-oriented planning. For example, anticipating future resource requirements requires an understanding of probable patterns of demand for police service, the nature of these demands (crime or non-crime) and what plans need to be initiated to meet these problem demands. In order to anticipate the future, we need to know what has gone on in the past or the present. How have demands for service increased, how fast, in what areas and with what effects? This kind of data base and analysis is necessary in order to project possible future scenarios. For example, an overall yearly trend of 5% rise in crime rates and 8% rise in service calls combined with a 1% increase in police resources will mean any number of resource problems for the police department of the future. Responses to these kinds of problems should be thought about now and plans put in place which will allow a rational response.

The presence of an M.I.S. system which can provide the necessary data for this analysis would allow the police manager to plan his response in a rational fashion based on information, not speculation. Projective data analysis and planned management are fundamental goals for all modern business and government institutions. The police have no option but to enter this mode of strategic management or have their mandate and resources suffer in comparison to those who have learned that planning for the future pays off. M.I.S. systems offer the police this possibility.

> We strongly believe the changes taking place in the demographic, economic, political and social domains will enhance the need for a proactive police management style, as opposed to the traditional reactive framework. The pressures that we have indicated are powerful. Police forces should cope with them before they seriously impact police services. Police management will have to spend proportionately more time anticipating

> the future and creating strategies for coping with future problems. Perhaps the proactive option involves a greater emphasis on preventative policing. We cannot be certain. We can, however, be certain that technological options and their determination should be clearly articulated by police management before the changes of the next two decades overwhelm us.
>
> (Zaharachuk, et al., 1978:Vol.1)

M.I.S. Systems Enhance The Ability of Police Managers To Be Accountable and Responsive to The Community

Increasing demands that police organizations become more accountable both in fiscal and political terms places a new pressure on police management to demonstrate their efficient use of resources and the effectiveness of police activity. While these demands to date have been satisfied by crude measures of workload, crime rates, etc., there is increasing evidence that a growing consumer advocacy is requiring much more precise information on just how police resources are used and more demonstrable measures of their effectiveness. Without an adequate information system, the modern police manager runs a risk of appearing to be either uninformed about his organization or simply insensitive to public demand.

> In our field studies and visits to police departments throughout North America, we were astonished at the inability of many police departments to respond to public criticism. At the simplest level, budgets submitted to municipal agencies contained no reference to

> the way resources were being used in the jurisdictions. Municipal managers had no information for evaluation of the way police services were being applied. And, when public criticism, such as, what are the police doing about crime? were launched, most police departments could not even provide a descriptive, informative response. Improved information systems could assist in this area.
>
> (Zaharachuk, _et_ _al_., 1978:Vol.4, 26)

MIS reports can also be used by the community-based police manager to educate the public as to the reality of the constraints facing his organization. For example, when faced with a demand for more foot patrol or a crackdown on specific kinds of marginal criminal activity, the modern police manager armed with elaborate statistics (hours spent, etc., breakdown for calls of service, present resource time utilized, etc.), could demonstrate that a reduction or an increase in police resources in a specific area would have a specified kind of effect. A more informed dialogue would develop whereby the costs and relative preferences for use of police resources could be demonstrated. The community then could make an to how they wish police resources to be rationally allocated. Without this information base the police executive is left with only its own authority and little rational argument to rebut alternative scenarios or requests.

SUMMARY

A commitment to the Community-Based Model requires a management perspective which is proactive and acknowledges the importance of regular community involvement in organizational goal setting. Having clearly established community policing goals, it is the responsibility of the police manager to decide upon the best means of achieving these goals.

Traditional methods of organizing police services must be reappraised. Community-Based Policing represents a decentralized, flexible model of service delivery which promotes a 'generalist' approach to policing. The development and effective management of human resources, in this regard, is stressed, based on the importance attached to line-level (constable-centered) decision making and problem solving requisites. Not only are new skills urgently required (through formal education and training), new techniques for acknowledging and rewarding such skill must also be implemented.

Community-Based Policing is, in part, a response to an economic/politically-induced requirement to illustrate the relationship between the use of valuable police resources and results obtained pertaining to specific community problems. The focus on discrete community crime and order problems tempers organizational change efforts with the pragmatic concern for minimizing internal organizational disruption while maximizing results. The community-based approach, then, endorses the notion of moderate and incremental organizational change.

In aid of efforts to increase police productivity and rationalize service delivery, new automated information technology is highlighted. The potential for Management Informations Systems (M.I.S.) is apparent. M.I.S. will provide the basis for sound management decision making based on precise, timely and quantifiable information for all aspects of policing (administrative and operational). The manner in which senior police management responds to the challenge of a changing environment and the demands thus placed on traditional policing methods, will dictate not only policing tactics and techniques of the future, but their likelihood of success.

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CHAPTER IV - OPERATIONAL TACTICS & TECHNIQUES FOR THE DELIVERY OF COMMUNITY-BASED POLICE SERVICES

INTRODUCTION

Community-based policing does not imply a specific programmatic approach to policing; only that there be community involvement in the identification, priority setting and resolution of policing problems. The major advantage of the community-based model is that it recognizes and accepts the fundamental diversity of the community and allows for the flexible and democratic development of an organizational approach to policing which is consistent with the responsibilities and obligations of the police to the community and the law. It follows that a wide variety of tactics are at the disposal of the police, depending on the community context. Recent efforts to experiment and refine policing tactics and techniques are noteworthy. Although the examples are too numerous to recount fully in this paper, observations can be made in terms of selected initiatives that touch on various aspects of operational policing (i.e., prevention, response to call, patrol, investigation, etc.). What unites the initiatives which are presented in this chapter is the overriding concern for making better use of existing resources. The topics reviewed in this section promise to become accepted practice in the future and as such bear special consideration by police practitioners. All of these innovative strategies are intended to improve police performance and productivity. The initiatives reviewed in this chapter include:

- Problem-Oriented Policing
- Team Policing
- Community-Based Crime Prevention
- Differential Police Response Model: Calls for Service
- Police Patrol Strategies
- Criminal Investigation Trends

PROBLEM-ORIENTED POLICING[1]

Systematic inquiry into predetermined problems is not necessarily foreign to the police. Many forces conduct detailed studies of administrative and process-related problems, such as studies regarding the pros's and con's of adopting particular types of equipment and weaponry, or the relative merits of different plans for policing special events. However, systematic analysis is seldom applies to specific community policing problems which constitute the bulk of a police department's routine business.

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[1] For an indepth discussion of this concept and process readers are urged to review H. Goldstein, The Problem Oriented Approach to Improving Police Research - A description of the Project and Elaboration of the Concept; Vol. 1. Madison, Wisconsin: National Institute of Justice, 1981. This discussion largely paraphrases the substance of Goldstein's work.

THE PROCESS OF INQUIRY

Goldstein (1981) emphasizes that the problem-oriented approach advocates flexibility in organizing resources and decision-making skills to deal with substantive policing problems.

> In setting up a plan for substantive research in a police agency the challenge is not to settle on a lockstep, mechanical process, but rather in working through the details involved in making indepth inquiries in an agency with no tradition for making such inquiries.
>
> (Goldstein, 1981:Vol.1, 41)

The following steps are presented by Goldstein as an overall framework to guide the process of problem inquiry.

DEFINING THE PROBLEM

Consistent with our understanding of community-based policing the problem-oriented approach requires that 'the problem' be defined in the local context. It is of critical importance that the problem be substantive in nature and not confused with sundry intra-agency, process-related problems. The terms of reference for the problem must be specific. The tendency to use overly broad categories of problems must be avoided (i.e., street crime, disorder, violence) as well as the tendency to attach legal labels which mask otherwise complex behavioural problems (e.g., 'arson', which may include vandalism, psychological disorder, insurance fraud, mischief, etc.).

The basic 'unit' of police work has traditionally been the call received from the community outlining a particular event, problem or concern. The business of the police, then, has been seen as an accumulation of such calls. The problem-oriented approach calls for changing this perspective of police management to one in which similar incidents or calls are grouped as problems. The problem becomes the appropriate subject of analysis. Problems may be identified in a variety of ways:

- by characteristics of the victim (i.e., elderly)
- by locality (i.e., parks, pinball arcades)
- by behaviour (i.e., drinking and driving)
- by the condition of persons with special needs (i.e., chronic alcoholics, mentally ill)
- by time (i.e., time of the day, month, year)

More often than not, police problems to which we seek a more effective police response are basically community problems.

In attempting to assess the full magnitude of a given problem, analysis must include others in the community who have a vested interest in the problem. A great deal can be learned from different community perceptions of the same problem. Police definitions of a particular problem may reflect more accurately police recording biases than shared public understanding of a substantive problem. Consider, for example, that the police data on the problem of drinking-driving in a community may say more about the criteria used by the police in deciding who to arrest than about actual offender population.

IDENTIFYING SOCIAL INTERESTS AND COSTS

A preoccupation with specific incidents, including the immediate needs and rights of both victims and offenders, tends to obscure the fact that the total community is often the victim as well (see also Wilson & Kelling, 1982). The problem-oriented approach, while incorporating specific concerns regarding victims and offenders, emphasizes the need to look at the community as a whole. When defining problems at the community level, a multitude of interests (often conflicting and competitive) come clearly into focus. Goldstein's (1981:55) analysis of street prostitution illustrates the various competing interests involved in this one problem area. Such interests might include:

- the nuisance created to passersby and to adjacent residences and business establishments;
- the offence to uninvolved women who must frequent the area and who are solicited;
- the likelihood that juveniles will become prostitutes;
- the assaults, robberies, and defrauding of those who patronize a prostitute
- the financial and physical exploitation of the prostitutes by their pimps;
- the interests and desires for privacy of those who feel the need to seek out prostitutes for their sexual outlet;
- the deleterious affects on the economy of the area including the value and the use of buildings.

Reconciling these various interests requires collaboration between the police and the public in articulating and priorizing concerns and expectations. This process is essential before developing a response strategy for dealing with such problems.

The 'costs' associated with a problem must consider social as well as financial costs; both these indicators have proven exceedingly elusive to measure. Nevertheless, a community that collectively decides the comparative price it is prepared to pay in terms of 'peace of mind' regarding specific community crime and order problems, will be better able to set priorities its needs and, hence, its expectations of the police. The issue of assessing the financial costs of a particular community problem, though difficult, can be a productive way of mobilizing community response.

> The importance of trying is underlined by the likelihood that an approximation of dollar costs for responding as we currently do to some types of incidents may be the most persuasive way in which to convince the community of the futility of some current practices and of the need to explore alternative responses more vigorously.
>
> (Goldstein, 1981:59)

The problem-oriented approach offers an opportunity to focus police efforts on discrete and definable problems, which are amenable to measurement in terms of police performance (effectiveness and efficiency). Clear definitions of police outputs allow the police to attribute resource costs towards specific end results.

DOCUMENTING CURRENT RESPONSES

Having identified, defined and analysed a particular problem, the next logical step in the process of systematic inquiry is to determine what has or is currently being done about it. As might be expected, this requires a review of responses from both the community (and its service agencies) and the police (including other police agencies) in order to:

> - establish more precisely the relationship between what the police are doing and the substantive problem that triggers police action;
> - identify factors that limit the effectiveness of the current response;
> - detect any negative, unanticipated consequences of the current response;
> - discover individual responses that, because of their apparent effectiveness, ought to be used more widely;
> - avoid useless activity especially given the competition for police time;
> - provide a basis for evaluating police and community policies relating to the problem and for weighing the feasibility of developing new resources and alternatives.
>
> (Goldstein, 1981:59)

A 'total' community approach to documenting current responses is necessary given that community problems are generally addressed by numerous service and regulatory agencies, each with their own particular mandates, thus reducing the possibility of working at cross purposes. Having acknowledged the importance of seeking innovative approaches to problems and looking outside the confines of the police organization, it should be remembered that for many problems which the police have some responsibility for, much has already been done. Informal responses that have evolved at the line level within police agencies may be among the most effective and warrant more official endorsement. Consistent with the precepts of constable centred management and the value of low level decision making for community-based problems, Goldstein (1981) acknowledges that general duty patrol policemen can acquire a unique understanding and sensitivity to the problems which confront them. They learn to make distinctions between different forms of the same problem and develop a feel for what, under varying circumstances, constitutes the most effective response. After proper evaluation, these types of responses might reasonably be adopted as standard policy for the entire police agency.

EXPLORING THE ALTERNATIVES

The range of alternatives available for coping with a given community problem depends on how far one is prepared to 'cast the net'. Goldstein (1981:76) argues that past efforts to improve the police response have been greatly limited because of an exclusive preoccupation with criminal justice responses, developed within the police agency. He proposes a broader exploration of community response alternatives that could include consideration of the following:

- physical and technical changes (which in the past has included: better urban design, improved locks on homes and cars, exact fares on mass transit, and the direct deposit of social security cheques, etc.);
- changes in government services that, if carried out would reduce problems that are brought to the police;
- more systematic provision of reliable information to the public;
- development of new community resources (such as shelters for abused women, houses for runaways, crisis intervention programs, and dispute settlement centers);
- more imaginative use of zoning to reduce problems stemming from conflicting uses of lands and buildings.

A great deal of work has already been done in the area of crime prevention and other strategies which develop alternatives to the criminal justice system, such as case diversion and referral programs to various social, health and legal services. Choosing between various alternatives depends on the nature of the community and police agency. Goldstein suggests some useful criteria to consider:

- the impact the response is likely to have on those aspects of the problem that cause loss of life or serious injury;
- the potential value the alternative has to reduce the total problem, the extent to which different interests are met, including the reduction of fear in the community;
- the extent to which the alternative is preventive in nature, minimizing the need for the police use of legal sanctions and force;

- the effect that adoption of the alternative would have on individual freedom;
- the financial cost of the alternative;
- the extent to which the police can be provided with both the authority and the resources necessary for full implementation;
- the potential the alternative presents for enabling the police to act in a legal and civil manner (recognizing the importance of legality and civility in building the relationship between the police and the public);
- the ease with which the alternative can be implemented;

(Goldstein, 1981:80)

MAKING THE CHOICE AMONG ALTERNATIVES

As work on a specific problem progresses, interest groups within the police and the community will invariably become involved. Given the conflicting interest involved with most police-community problems, it seems unlikely that consensus will readily emerge on major decisions. However, it should be remembered that we are speaking of an initiative which emanates from the police and, hence, the police should be expected to buttress their position as a major contributor and lead agency. In view of the essentially political nature of this decision-making process at the community level, Goldstein (1981:85) is no doubt correct in stating that;

> A police agency that has done its homework--by conducting an indepth study of the substantive problem--will have a far more effective voice than it has had in the past.

TEAM POLICING

The recent development and growing popularity of 'team policing' can be seen as a response to a variety of social pressures and organizational problems. Wasson (1977) suggests the following trends were, in various ways, responsible for its introduction: recognition of a need for more preventive policing methods, the increasing organizational alienation of the police, the public relations approach to community interaction and the decreasing role of the patrol constable.

The point to be made here is that improvements in the area of community-based policing and proactive methods of service delivery were randomly introduced. They were sporadic and badly fragmented efforts at what should have been a systematic and planned approach to organizational improvement. A fresh approach to the manner in which police work should be conducted was required. Team policing has been offered as one such approach which offers great promise.

TEAM POLICING DESCRIBED

Recent police literature cites numerous descriptions of police organizational techniques or strategies which fall under the rubric of 'team policing', 'zone policing' and 'community policing'. Wasson (1975), in a document prepared for the Solicitor General, conducted a review of several police agencies which have instituted variations of this policing strategy. Team policing, he concluded, can be described as a combination of the following elements:[2]

> Geographic Stability: A team of police officers and their supervisors are solely responsible on a 24-hour per day basis for the delivery of police services to a defined geographical area. This is done to allow working policemen to develop an intimate knowledge of their territory, to build strong interpersonal relationships with persons and other community agencies, and to improve channels of communication and the flow of information between the public and the police.

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[2] Wasson (1975) lists these elements as a combination of similar elements previously identified by Sherman et al (1973) and Bloch & Specht (1973).

Decentralization of Authority: This requires that the police team and its supervisors be given autonomous decision making responsibility for routine policing matters which have traditionally been reserved for the police executive (i.e., manpower disposition, scheduling, tactics, planning, etc.). This respects the notion of participative management and proper delegation of authority while further acknowledging the wealth and relevance of decision making information which emanates from line personnel and their supervisors.

Community relations emphasis: This requires that the police establish a communications conduit between themselves and the community whereby the public airs its problems and concerns and the police assist and set priorities in order to resolve such issues, commensurate with the existing level of community competence. This is done to give meaning and substance to the notion of 'shared responsibility' for crime and order problems in the community.

Crime prevention emphasis: This implies that the police and community together, by virtue of a more intimate, sensitive and penetrating understanding of crime and order problems, will be able to develop early intervention/prevention strategies to impact on these problems.

Internal communications process: This refers to the various methods and mechanisms set in place to ensure timely and relevant passage of information within the police force (inter-zone, intra-zone) in order to ensure maximum benefits of innovative policing strategies, or areas of information and intelligence of operational importance. This information is generally communicated through team meetings and or publications.

Reduced use of specialists: The guiding principle in this element is 'generalize where possible and specialize where necessary' (Heywood, 1978:155). It is presumed that team members will take on traditional investigative and enforcement functions (once provided by support elements such as detective division and traffic sections). This is done to provide continuity in service delivery and allow the enrichment of job satisfaction for team members while building needed skill repertoire at the line level. Although this applies as a general rule, it respects the need for specialist groups to deal with organized criminal elements and or areas which require ongoing co-ordination of police resources in a more complex/ aggressive mode.

DOES TEAM POLICING WORK?

Although a great deal of literature has been produced extolling the virtues and descriptive attributes of team policing, relatively little is actually known about its effectiveness as an alternative policing strategy. Team policing, like many such change efforts, has usually been conducted as a demonstration project: one that demonstrates on a limited scale the presumed superiority of a new approach prior to its adaption on a wider scale (Sherman, et al., 1973:99). In reviewing seven case studies of team policing projects, Sherman et al., (1973) observes that in many instances objectives were not clearly specified at the beginning and evaluation considerations played little or no part in the design:

> Many evaluators of demonstration projects have soundly taken the position that unless it is known precisely what a project has demonstrated (i.e., has it really reduced crime or improved response time) there is no assurance that the innovation is an improvement.

(Sherman, et al., 1973:100)

Recognizing the usual caveats associated with empirical measurement and evaluation, information about the efficacy of team policing has been collected in various forms including crime statistics (reported crime rates and clearance rates), victimization surveys, community attitude surveys, police attitude surveys and police costs. The evidence produced by these indicators has often been weak in significance, ambiguous in meaning and non-comparable.

Some summary observations are in order. First, team policing cannot be applied as a packaged solution to community policing problems. It simply may not be applicable or appropriate for many communities. Secondly, team policing is simply a means to an end, a different organizational strategy for improving the delivery of police services. Change energies directed towards implementing team policing should be contingent solely on the desirability and attainability of well articulated goals and objectives (MacDonald, 1978). Thirdly, team policing has evolved largely from the ferment of the American urban policing experience (and its particular problems). Team policing was developed as an attempt to ease strainedrelations between the police and the public. Canada, aside from a few large metropolitan areas, is composed of smaller cities, towns, villages and rural jurisdictions. It follows that the potential for team policing already exists to some extent in many Canadian police jurisdictions. Geographic stability is not an issue to the rural or town detachment policeman. Decision making autonomy pertaining to routine matters already rests with detachment commanders and local police chiefs. Due to the parochial nature of police work, in this context, policemen more often than not live in their communities and are active as community members. They engage in frequent contact with community members in a non-enforcement capacity and are quite aware, in a practical sense, where potential problems lie. Such policemen are indeed generalists, if for no other reason than failing to have access to the luxury of 'specialist resources.' Formal team policing strategies in such settings may be simply unnecessary. Conversely, in areas where community autonomy exists and team policing has not been incorporated; tremendous potential may exist for successful implementation.

TEAM POLICING AND THE COMMUNITY-BASED MODEL

The key principles of the community-based policing philosophy are worth reiterating, i.e.:

- the importance of the community and police decision making;
- the objectives of policing are broad and community defined;

- the diverse functions that the police perform and that these functions are legitimate elements of the police role;
- a shared responsibility between the police and the community;
- proactive involvement with the community.

Clearly, the community-based model endorses the notion of a proactive police community partnership. The integrity of this relationship is maintained through the reciprocal passage of information including a shared responsibility for decision making and priority setting for a diverse array of community crime and order problems.

Team policing represents an organizational strategy which is fundamentally based on these same precepts but adds the notion of constable-centered management so that decentralized decision making is conducted at the team level. This includes team leaders and team members; those most attuned to community problems and in a position to work with community interest groups and their counterparts within the community helping agencies. In essence, team policing, if properly implemented, might become an effective strategy for implementing community-based policing.

COMMUNITY-BASED CRIME PREVENTION

> Sir Robert Peel and the commissioners, whom he appointed to head the metropolitan police force in London, conceived of their new police as a preventative force whose success was to be judged by the "absence of crime" and not by "the detection and punishment of the offender after he has succeeded in committing the crime. ("General Instructions" of 1829 cited by Radzinowicz, 1968:163)
>
> (Shearing & Stenning, 1982:192)

The rediscovery of the preventive aspects of the original police role can, in part, be seen as a response to a growing recognition of the limits of traditional reactive policing. The inability of the police and the community to control crime at an acceptable level has prompted a new emphasis on preventive policing techniques and the growing development of community-based crime prevention programs. The growth of crime, particularly property crime, persists despite increases in police resources and improvements in traditional policing methods. Social change, in the nature of modern community life has meant less ability to informally control criminal behaviour and less willingness to provide mutual social support and protection. Recent economic conditions have made it impossible to continue expanding police resources despite an ever increasing demand for police service. In short, the police alone can no longer be expected to supply the level of prevention and protection that the community requires. One solution to this problem is to adopt a different response to the traditional problem of crime control and community protection. This approach can be labelled 'community-based crime prevention.'

DEFINING COMMUNITY-BASED CRIME PREVENTION

Crime prevention can be defined as "the anticipation, recognition and appraisal of crime risk and the initiation of some action to reduce that risk" (National Crime Prevention Institute). The prevention of crime before it takes place is advocated as simply a more effective and efficient way of controlling crime and using police resources. For the police, this means focusing some of their resources on "reducing the possibility of criminal victimization through a variety of before-the-fact attempts to reduce crime and opportunity in the victim's own environment" (Linden, 1982:1). This approach is based on the assumption that many crimes are products of opportunities provided by the behaviour of the victim and the structure of the physical environment. The conditions and circumstances surrounding the victim' s role in the production of a criminal event are more amenable to planned change and intervention than traditional 'offender'-oriented policing.

Crime prevention programs primarily focus on the reduction of opportunities for crime and not the deterrence and punishment of criminal offenders. This can be done in a number of ways:

> Opportunity can be made more difficult. Potential targets can be made less vulnerable through restricting access to criminals and placing barriers between the offender and the target. This is referred to as target hardening. Secondly, opportunities can be disguised by making the target appear less vulnerable or inviting. For example, an unoccupied home can be made to appear occupied by having neighbours pick up the mail, cut the grass or deposit garbage. In this case a potential target is made to appear inaccessible. Thirdly, opportunities can be discouraged through indirect means such as making the target less valuable (marked goods, for example may be difficult to fence,) or more risky (warning decals, burglar alarms). This has the effect of balancing the cost benefit ratio against the offender. Finally, opportunity can be reduced through increasing the potential observability of the criminal act. Well lit streets and home or the presence of potential witnesses increase the offenders chance of being noticed. The potential for observability increases the risk of apprehension or identification.
>
> (Linden, 1982:4)

It is assumed that these risk factors are taken into consideration by the potential offender and that opportunity reducing strategies create significant risks for the potential offender which will ultimately deter a criminal act.

The reduction of opportunity can be accomplished both by individuals and the community as a whole. The various strategies and techniques for successful design and implementation of crime prevention programs is the subject of a large body of literature. The authors' concern in this review is not so much to document how to do crime prevention programming but explain why it should be done and what role the police play in its development.

CRIME PREVENTION AND COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING

Though there are natural similarities between the objectives of community-based policing and crime prevention, it should be pointed out that they are not the same thing. Community-based policing is a general philosophy of policing with specific social goals, crime prevention is one strategy for meeting these goals.

Crime prevention is the shared responsibility of the police and the community; the marriage between crime prevention and community-based policing is based on a mutual concern with the maintenance of order and peace in the community. Crime prevention and community-based policing share a number of basic assumptions which make it a natural part of the delivery of police services in a community.

First, crime prevention is a proactive strategy of crime control. It is a planned approach to the management of crime and reduces the response nature of the police mandate. In an effort to impact on crime problems, police initiated and co-ordinated crime prevention programs can effectively reduce the response component of their daily workload. Simply put, preventing a crime means less time consuming effort and often unproductive police response. If successful, crime prevention should allow more effective use of police resources by freeing up resources traditionally absorbed by responding to calls for service. By reinforcing the ability of the community to protect itself from criminal victimization, the police can presumably begin to manage their response role and further develop their planning functions.

Crime prevention programs when initiated, co-ordinated or simply supported by the police, emphasize non-punitive and non-enforcement aspects of the police role. Police become educators, advisors and experts responding directly and professionally to citizen concerns. This more co-operative model of police-citizen interaction is consistent with the broad role definition of policing advocated by the community-based policing model. Apart from the obvious public relations benefits of police involvement in crime prevention programs, they also contribute to an improved sense of security and order in the community.

Central to community-based policing is a recognition of the importance of the community as a participant in the delivery of police services. Crime prevention programs necessitate active involvement by the community in the identification and response to community policing problems. The co-operative nature of crime prevention programming thus operationalizes this ideal in a productive and focused fashion. The police, as an agency of the community are thus delivering a truly community-based police service.

Finally, crime prevention is meant to be community-based. The basic tenet of both community-based policing and crime prevention is that the responsibility for crime control should be shared by the community. Breaking the tendency to shift responsibility for all crime and order problems to the police means recognizing that crime problems are first and foremost community problems and not exclusively police concerns. Crime prevention shifts responsibility back to the community by reinforcing its latent capacity for greater self-regulation and protection. This means police initiated crime prevention programs should ultimately be aimed at developing or supporting the community's ability to collectively and independently respond to its crime and order problems and thus reduce their dependence on police response. Linden (1982:15) suggests how this benefits both the police and the community:

> However the involvement of a wide variety of community members to increase surveillance and reporting provides a resource which not only augments police surveillance capabilities but also helps to foster a general sense of social responsibility, a greater sense of control over the environment, and a reduction of feelings of frustration, helplessness and fear which arise out of more uncertain and impersonal environment.

Thus, crime prevention and community-based policing share a number of common concerns. Crime prevention can be seen as an invaluable strategy by which the police can have an impact on crime, reduce demand for police services, enhance their protective and service functions in the community, increase police-citizen interaction and transfer some of the responsibilities for crime control back to the community.

THE ROLE OF THE POLICE IN CRIME PREVENTION

Though ideally the responsibility for crime prevention lies with the community, the police will realistically be expected to play an important role in its development, implementation and maintenance. The exact nature of the role of the police in community-based crime prevention programming will, to a great extent, depend on: the need for crime prevention in the community; an ability to respond to that need; a willingness to participate; and, the amenability of a crime problem to preventive strategies.

Depending on all of these factors, the precise nature of the police role will vary. An absence of community awareness of crime problems suggests an educative and informative role for the police. The varied abilities of communities to respond, even when they are aware of a particular crime problem, may mean the police will have a developmental role in generating community response and involvement. The reluctance of the community, or segments of the community, to become active in community-based crime prevention programs may mean a persuasive advocacy role for the police as generators of community involvement. Finally, though there may be an awareness, ability and a willingness to participate in crime prevention programming, some community crime problems are more amenable to police intervention strategies than community responses. In those cases, the police will have to retain a portion of their traditional role responsibility for crime control.

Given that crime prevention has been only recently gained widespread acceptance in Canada, the police will be expected to play a lead role in order to ensure that crime prevention becomes an established part of community life and an accepted individual responsibility. The developmental role of the police will undoubtedly change as governments and private industry further develop their own crime prevention initiatives. Though the police will remain central to the delivery of crime prevention programming, they will no longer have to bear exclusive responsibility for its development. The police role may shift from that of primary initiators and educators to program co-ordinator and participants in new combined efforts of government, community agencies, private enterprise and citizens groups. Crime prevention can be expected to become an established police service as both the need and the demand for protection from crime continues to grow.

DIFFERENTIAL POLICE RESPONSE MODEL: CALLS FOR SERVICE

An effort has been made throughout this paper to acknowledge the broad range of responsibilities relegated to the police. Nowhere is this diversity more apparent than in the general duty patrol function of the police. One need only examine the reasons for which the public call the police to identify the basis for such diversity. The police, are called because of a real or perceived need for prompt intervention (crime or non-crime), and because no other available agency is capable of rendering such assistance. Unfortunately the demand for varied police services can no longer be adequately met by existing police resources in a growing number of police jurisdictions. Burgeoning calls for service coupled with diminishing police resources has created an administrative dilemma. The pressure to cut 'peripheral services' in order to balance departmental budgets is growing. However, the public can be expected to disagree with some police definitions of 'peripheral' or non-essential services. The alternative is to explore new methods and strategies of coping with increased workloads and 'doing more with less.'

The Police Executive Research Forum (P.E.R.F.; Farmer (ed.)), a U.S. based police research agency, has begun to explore alternative methods of responding to community calls for police service. They assert that, although citizens have become accustomed to and thus expect the police to respond to all requests, it is no longer practical or effective for the police to do so. In addition to the issue of limited resources and increased calls for services, developing response alternatives can lead to more effective community-based policing.

> To the extent that police officers can be relieved of responding to every call, they become available to provide other important services such as meeting with community groups, neighbourhood organizations and

> individual citizens, performing crime directed patrol activities, conducting crime prevention activities for homes and businesses, and following up investigative leads to solve crimes already committed. Patrol officers whose duty hours are completely occupied with responding to a never diminishing stack of calls are not available to provide any of these critical functions. The development of alternative responses to various types of calls for service increases the likelihood that police officers will be able to provide these and other services.
>
> (Farmer, 1981:iv)

What is required, Farmer (1981:2) contends, is a new approach to service delivery--a system for classifying types of calls and rationally matching police response alternatives to those calls. After reviewing the research literature on police handling of calls for service and conducting a survey on how calls were handled, in 221 United States police departments, Farmer came to the following conclusions:

- existing systems of classifying calls for service are inadequate, focusing primarily on placing calls into predetermined crime or non-crime codes, rather than basing classification on information critical to determining proper police response;
- although information gathered during call intake is important in determining proper response, police agencies have failed to pay adequate attention to training, supervision, or guidance of call operators and dispatchers;
- police departments operate on the premise that immediate response by sworn officers is the most desirable response to nearly all calls for service;

> - many police agencies still manage service workload on a first come, first served basis or by an informal ordering system;
> - police agencies are now using several strategies including civilian response, telephone reporting of incidents, walk in reporting of incidents, appointment scheduling, mail in reporting, referral to other agencies, or not responding at all;
> - no agency appears to have examined the full range of possible responses and considered their application to the full range of citizen call types;
> - there is some indication that citizens, if informed of police department response procedures, will accept responses other than the immediate appearance of sworn officers.
>
> (Farmer, 1981:35)

Though research findings challenge traditional practices of responding to most calls for service and the need for rapid response, the majority of police agencies continue to follow these practices. Before police officials accept a rational response model they will have to reject the traditional premise that response to all calls is critical in apprehending offenders, securing crime scenes, completing interviews with witnesses, processing evidence, reducing injury to citizens and assuring citizen satisfaction. These findings have been based more on faith than on proven fact. (Farmer, 1981:9).

DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSE MODELS

The differential response model, as outlined by Farmer (1981:39) suggests a structure for organizing information collection by complaint takers, dispatch decisions by dispatchers and allows police managers to select and communicate particular department policy and procedures.

This model involves three components:

- a set of (8) call classifications;
- a determination of time between occurrence of the incident and its report to the police;
- a range of possible police responses.

In essence, the model is a graphic portrayal of the interaction of these components. (See Figure 1)

Figure 1
GENERAL DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSE MODEL

TYPE OF INCIDENT/TIME OF OCCURRENCE

		MAJOR PERSONAL INJURY			MAJOR PROPERTY DAMAGE/ LOSS			POTENTIAL PERSONAL INJURY			POTENTIAL PROPERTY DAMAGE/ LOSS			MINOR PERSONAL INJURY			MINOR PROPERTY DAMAGE/ LOSS			OTHER MINOR CRIME			OTHER MINOR NON-CRIME		
RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES		IN-PROGRESS	PROXIMATE	COLD	IN-PROGRESS	PROXIMATE	COLD	IN-PROGRESS	PROXIMATE	COLD	IN-PROGRESS	PROXIMATE	COLD	IN-PROGRESS	PROXIMATE	COLD	IN-PROGRESS	PROXIMATE	COLD	IN-PROGRESS	PROXIMATE	COLD	IN-PROGRESS	PROXIMATE	COLD
SWORN	IMMEDIATE																								
	EXPEDITE																								
	ROUTINE																								
	APPOINTMENT																								
NON-SWORN	IMMEDIATE																								
	EXPEDITE																								
	ROUTINE																								
	APPOINTMENT																								
NON-MOBILE	TELEPHONE																								
	WALK-IN																								
	MAIL-IN																								
	REFERRAL																								
	NO RESPONSE																								

> For any call for service, information obtained from the caller is used to classify the incident into one of the incident classifications and one of the three time of occurrence categories. These two determinants are then used to assess the proper police response to that call from among a range of acceptable responses.
>
> (Farmer, 1981:40)

Classification of Incidents

Under this classification system, the role of call intake would be to determine exactly what is happening; not in order to assign appropriate crime or non-crime labels, but in order to determine the most appropriate response. Three factors are identified as critical to categorizing incidents:

- whether the incident has already happened or could potentially happen;
- whether the incident involves property or persons;
- whether the incident is of a service nature.

The incident classifications identified by P.E.R.F. are; major personal injury, major property damage/loss, potential personal injury, potential property damage/loss, minor personal injury, minor property damage/loss, other minor crime, other minor non-crime. It is important to note that the type of incidents which fit into each classification is a management decision. Forcing these decisions and choices is the ultimate purpose of the model. Managers interested in developing differential responses to calls must think out what type of responses they believe are appropriate for each type of call for service. This will ultimately involve some collaboration between the police and the community in order to be sensitive to local needs and concerns.

Time of Occurrence

The Differential Response Model asserts that, in order to determine the most appropriate response to a call for service, it is necessary to separate calls into a set of categories reflecting differences in the length of time between a specific incident and the actual report of the incident received by the police. Common sense dictates that immediate response to calls which are 'in progress' increases the likelihood of apprehending offenders, locating witnesses, etc. Yet, research also makes it clear that even in such cases, the impact of immediate response may be negligible. Police agencies are urged to examine their response procedures and the nature of calls received while the incident is in progress and determine which cases warrant immediate response. For illustrative purposes, the P.E.R.F. model presents three time categories:

- in progress: self-explanatory;
- proximate: less than one hour elapsed before report;
- cold: more than one hour elapsed before report.

These time categories are rather arbitrarily assigned and again it becomes a management decision, based on local characteristics of the community and nature of calls received, as to how these categories should be determined.

Response Alternatives

Research conducted by P.E.R.F. confirms there are a wide array of alternative methods and strategies of responding to calls for service available to the police.[3] Some of these alternative responses include; dispatching sworn personnel (regular members), dispatching non-sworn personnel (civilian members), taking the incident report by telephone, requiring the caller to file the report at the police station (walk in), requiring the caller to mail the report of the incident (mail in), referring the caller to another agency, or not responding at all. In cases where a mobile response is warranted, a range of dispatch priority levels can be established which reflect the immediacy of the response required. The P.E.R.F. model identifies four such categories:

- immediate response: immediately dispatch the nearest available unit, if not available pull such a unit off a low priority call;
- expedited response: dispatch the nearest unit which is not handling a call;
- routine response: dispatch a unit as it becomes available;
- appointment: scheduling an appointment for the caller.

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[3] A variation of this model is currently being used by the Toronto Metro Police Department as part of its major reorganization of police services.

OPERATION OF THE DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSE MODEL

The model as described by P.E.R.F. is essentially a decision making tool used for deciding the appropriate response to the diverse array of calls which come to the attention of the police. It is not intended to act as a rigid automatic decision making device applicable to all cases. The model allows managers to make basic choices regarding appropriate responses for general categories of incidents with common usual circumstances. However, it is readily acknowledged that there will always be a small number of unique cases that demand tailored responses. Good judgment and discretion is left to those personnel who receive and process information leading from calls for service (complaint takers, dispatchers, patrol personnel).

Figure 2 represents an example of how the Differential Response Model would appear after having been completed by police managers for a given police department. Each department or force implementing such a model would be required to develop a chart similar to that presented in Figure 2:

Figure 2
EXAMPLE OF COMPLETED DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSE MODEL

TYPE OF INCIDENT/TIME OF OCCURRENCE

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES		MAJOR PERSONAL INJURY			MAJOR PROPERTY DAMAGE/ LOSS			POTENTIAL PERSONAL INJURY			POTENTIAL PROPERTY DAMAGE/ LOSS			MINOR PERSONAL INJURY			MINOR PROPERTY DAMAGE/ LOSS			OTHER MINOR CRIME			OTHER MINOR NON-CRIME		
		IN-PROGRESS	PROXIMATE	COLD	IN-PROGRESS	PROXIMATE	COLD	IN-PROGRESS	PROXIMATE	COLD	IN-PROGRESS	PROXIMATE	COLD	IN-PROGRESS	PROXIMATE	COLD	IN-PROGRESS	PROXIMATE	COLD	IN-PROGRESS	PROXIMATE	COLD	IN-PROGRESS	PROXIMATE	COLD
SWORN	IMMEDIATE	X	X	X	X			X	X					X			X								
	EXPEDITE									X	X				X					X			X		
	ROUTINE					X	X									X					X				
	APPOINTMENT					X	X									X					X				
NON-SWORN	IMMEDIATE																								
	EXPEDITE	X	X	X																					
	ROUTINE																								
	APPOINTMENT																								
NON-MOBILE	TELEPHONE					X	X					X	X					X	X			X		X	X
	WALK-IN																								
	MAIL-IN																								
	REFERRAL																						X	X	X
	NO RESPONSE																								

This chart reflects an explicit management determination of the required responses to each incident classification/time of occurrence combination.

Because such a model alters traditional organizational arrangements and changes the general nature of service delivery in a community, serious questions must be addressed concerning its feasibility:

- will citizens accept it?
- will it be acceptable to general duty patrol members?
- will it cost more or less than existing response methods?

Community Attitudes

Research conducted by P.E.R.F. indicated clearly that the public is receptive to a variety of response alternatives. Consistent with earlier research by Pate, et al., (1976), it was established that flexible public expectations are contingent upon the police being candid and honest about their response capacity. It was found that the public did not feel that immediate response was necessary for most calls, thus providing the opportunity for police to explore a wide range of response alternatives. In addition, research indicates that the public would accept numerous alternatives including attendance by non-sworn personnel, various referral methods, delayed service strategies, as well as phone/mail responses. It is interesting to note that a high level of citizen acceptance to response alternatives was found without any previous form of public education to explain these alternatives. It can be readily assumed that citizen acceptance would increase even further if the police were to first communicate their plans to the community in a forthright, informative manner.

Police Attitude

Because the Differential Response Model can be seen as a 'change strategy', it might be anticipated that some resistance would ensue from those most affected, i.e., patrol constables. As is the case with all innovative programs, the intent and objective must be communicated clearly to all police and support personnel who must be then given the opportunity to actively participate in the structuring of such a model. It must be clearly understood that the objective of this model is not to reduce personnel levels, but to achieve a more efficient match between personnel resources and demands on the police agency. Of critical importance for those participating will be how to best make use of time freed up by reduced call response requirements.

Cost

In order to determine the cost of the Differential Response Model relative to current practices, police managers must have some estimate of the cost of current practices. It is, therefore, necessary to determine the cost of traditional response methods by examining:

- the average number of minutes that the police unit assigns primary responsibility spends on one calls of a given type;
- the average number of minutes that a backup unit spends assisting the primary unit on one call of a given type;
- the cost per minute for the mode of response that the dispatcher normally selects in assigning a primary unit to a particular call type;
- the cost per minute for the mode of response that the dispatcher normally selects in assigning a backup unit to a particular call type;
- the number of incidents of a given type handled during a specific time interval.

(Farmer, 1981:63)

The cost of the new model, of course, must be assessed using the same measures. In general, because the model involves reducing the number of calls to which sworn police officers respond, and reducing the frequency of mobilized response, it is reasonable to expect that as an alternative the Differential Response Model will be less expensive than traditional responses. The level of saving, however, must be balanced against less tangible costs including community satisfaction and organizational resistance to change.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSE MODEL

Such a model has the potential to reduce the amount of time general duty patrol officers spend responding to calls for service. Policemen would be freed to some extent from the constant dictates of the radio which orchestrates their attendance from one call to the next. The amount of time freed by the use of such a model and the degree to which that time can be consolidated into useful blocks of time are essential elements in restructuring the police departments entire policing strategy. Line managers would have the task of managing newly acquired resources towards specific community problem areas including crime, order, or service-related activities. The patrol members' job would become more interesting and challenging, given the opportunity to participate in the development of alternative objectives, goals and strategies which would likewise enrich the substance of their work. Decreasing the volume of calls responded to would allow policemen to concentrate on the quality and continuity of services they provide to those calls which truly require their attention. This should translate into greater citizen satisfaction as well as increased officer satisfaction. Consistent with the community-based policing philosophy, the constable-generalist would be able to pursue numerous activities (investigative, preventive, educative) with more enthusiasm and thoroughness. Certainly, some of the savings in time might be committed to meaningful exercises in research and planning and thus reinvested in efforts to better existing policing arrangements.

POLICE PATROL STRATEGIES

Modern police patrol, is largely based on the work of O.W. Wilson (Wilson & McLaren, 1963). While there are numerous forms of patrol (foot, motorcycle, horse, marine, etc.), the obvious trend since World War II has been towards the use of the automobile. Traditional preventive patrol is justified in terms of the following functions:

> Patrol is an indispensable service that plays a leading role in the accomplishment of the police purpose. It is the only form of police service that directly attempts to eliminate the opportunity for misconduct; it also checks the development of the desire for misconduct by destroying unwholesome stimuli, by actively creating wholesome ones, and by favourably influencing individual and group attitudes in its routine daily association with the public. Insofar as patrol fails to eliminate desire and belief in opportunity, misconduct results. Patrol is then availabile to investigate offences, apprehend offenders, and recover stolen property. Constant availability is important because time is of the essence in most police work.
>
> (Wilson & McLaren, 1963:320)

The general purpose of patrol is to create an image of police 'omnipresence' within the community. This is attained by the random movement of police vehicles in order to deter crime, by increasing the probability of apprehension and increasing feelings of citizen satisfaction, safety and security. The random and visible deployment of police patrol vehicles was expected to facilitate effective use of police services by making constables readily available for rapid response to calls. Fundamental to the notion of rapid response was the presumed relationship between it and the increased likelihood of offender apprehension. This lends further credence to the deterrent capabilities of the police.

Although Wilson (1953) maintained that it was important for the police to maximize their potential to observe, interact and communicate with the citizenry, police patrol reform methods have evolved in a manner that has successfully managed to subvert this original intent. In a rather strange twist of occupational vernacular, the police have come to describe themselves as 'in service' while they are encased in their patrol cars awaiting the call for service and 'out of service' when they have left their vehicle to actually attend to the needs and concerns of the public. (Kelling & Fogel, 1978; Moore & Kelling, forthcoming). As calls for service have continued to escalate and police patrol resources have tended to remain constant, increased emphasis has been placed on keeping general duty policemen 'in service' as much as possible, thus causing diminution in the quality and quantity of police-public contact.

CHALLENGES TO TRADITIONAL PREVENTIVE PATROL

The past two decades has witnessed a series of direct challenges to the effectiveness of traditional preventive patrol. The first major challenge was levelled directly at its time-honored preoccupation with crime fighting. It became clear that the popular image of the police, seen as dealing predominantly with crime-related matters, was largely inaccurate (Cumming et al., 1965; Wilson, 1968; Reiss, 1971; American Bar Association, 1973). A second challenge addressed the concern over the apparent breakdown in the quality of the relationship between the police and the public (Bittner, 1970; Germann, 1971; Ashburn, 1973; Richardson, 1974). Preventive patrol was seen as removing policemen from routine contact with the citizenry. The contacts which did exist were of a crisis or adversary nature, dealing with offenders, disputants or victims. The almost exclusive reliance on vehicular patrol, was seen as contributing to increasingly distant and hostile relationships between the police and the public. Pedestrian and vehicle checks became substitutes for citizen contact and police cars became places of refuge from (symbolic and real) assailants (Kelling & Fogel, 1978). One of the basic precepts of effective policing was being seriously violated, i.e., the need for accurate and timely information from the public in order to identify and deal with crime and order problems. Preventive patrol strategies not only enhanced the alienation of the police from the community but also effectively removed a valuable source of police information: general citizen contact.

It was suggested, through research, that although preventive patrol might be intuitively reasonable and appealing, it remained empirically unproven (Kakalik & Wildhorn, 1971). The Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment provided empirical evidence which strongly suggested that such patrol strategies, in fact, had little appreciable effect on reported crime, apprehension, victimization, citizen satisfaction, or citizen fear (Kelling et al., 1974). With regards to rapid response and its assumptions that more offenders would be apprehended and that citizen satisfaction would be increased, empirical research also yielded conflicting results. Bertram & Vargo (1976) found that citizens allowed considerable periods of time to elapse after experiencing serious types of crime before calling the police, thus thwarting the best of intentions of the police through rapid response strategies. Pate et al.,(1976) found that response time was not a critical variable in determining citizen satisfaction. The critical variable was citizen **expectations** of police response time. Thus, it was concluded that various patrol options were available to the police, aside from rapid response, assuming that the police were prepared to communicate with the public realistic response capabilities and propose a reasonable set of alternatives (i.e., delayed response, appointments, walk-in complaints, mail in complaints, etc.).

From a community-based perspective, traditional preventive patrol seems counter-productive in many respects. Certainly, with existing evidence to refute its underlying rationale, the way has been cleared to explore new and more community-oriented patrol strategies.

NEW DIRECTIONS IN PATROL

General duty patrol is still the mainstay of police work. Roughly 60 to 70% of all police personnel are dedicated to this function and comparative budget expenditures can be calculated accordingly (Gay et al., 1977). That this facet of police work should be given careful scrutiny is not surprising given rising demands for police services coupled with constrained budget allocations. When discussing or describing preventive patrol it is common to refer to this activity as 'routine or random'. In terms of effectiveness, this is perhaps its most serious shortcoming. Preventive patrol is, in essence, a 'filler activity': something which has been practiced by patrol policemen when not in a prescribed reactive mode or responding to a call for service. Simply stated, the attention paid by police managers to calls for service (and response time) has not been matched by an equal commitment to understanding or improving preventive patrol activities. Preventive patrol, although accounting for a great deal of operational time, is still a residual activity which is readily interrupted and made to fit around other response oriented work, regardless of how routine or minor in nature. This state of affairs has persisted partially because patrol constables are seldom provided with systematic problem-oriented information about their patrol areas and patrol supervisors similarly do not usually avail themselves of information needed to develop these patrol strategies. 'Directed patrol' strategies have been developed to address these obvious shortcomings.

DIRECTED PATROL STRATEGIES

Directed patrol suggests that patrol constables undertake pre-planned activities in order to meet specific objectives, defined by themselves and line supervisors. It further requires that police management rethink the policy of generally allowing calls for service to run their operations.

A broad range of directed patrol strategies have been developed (See Gay et al, 1977) and in keeping with the community-based model, the key element has been identified as the problem-oriented approach:

> Although we refer to it as crime analysis, a better name might be problem identification, for it pertains to crime patterns as well as to order maintenance, community relations, and traffic problems with which every police department must deal. Only when an agency has begun to detect, classify, and describe and analyze patterns of activity can patrol tactics be designed to address these problems.

(Gay et al., 1977:92)

These strategies are illustrative of how police agencies have experimented with ways in which uncommitted or traditional preventive patrol time can be used more productively. These strategies are not only relevant to large departments, they embrace an approach to patrol which can and has successfully been used by medium and small police agencies to upgrade the quality of their patrol efforts. By way of example, the Wilmington Delaware 'split-force' patrol program will be briefly discussed (Tien et al, 1978).

The basic goal of split-force patrol is to increase police productivity by providing concentrated patrol coverage in community problem areas. It is the intent of this program to improve patrol effectiveness without increasing the number of patrol personnel or patrol costs. To achieve its goal the split-force program requires:

- Major changes in the way constables are deployed;
- The implementation of new patrol tactics.

Like most directed patrol measures, the split-force program was initiated from the results of the Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment (Kelling et al., 1974) and the feeling amongst senior police administrators that random patrol was not a particularly effective patrol technique. In recognition of the dual nature of patrol work, split-force patrol is fashioned by separating or splitting the general duty division into two groups:

- A basic patrol force; that responds to calls for service, does random patrol, and performs limited amounts of directed patrol. This force is deployed temporarily and geographically according to the total patrol workload.

- A structured patrol force; that engages almost exclusively in directed crime prevention, deterrence and apprehension activities. Structured units are deployed and assigned specific activities according to the results of detailed crime analysis. In addition these officers respond to serious in-progress criminal complaints and perform both uniform and covert patrol.

Through detailed workload analysis, this program seeks to effectively match patrol constables' schedules to workload demands (contrary to traditional models which deploy an equal number of members to each shift or watch). By reducing staff on night shifts (Midnight to 8:00 a.m.) and between 8:00 a.m. and noon, the split-force program creates a 'structured patrol force' to work during peak hours and concentrate upon prescribed community problems. To support the split-force patrol and better enable the basic patrol force to handle service calls effectively, a call priority system is established (i.e., differential response model). As previously noted, problem identification and or crime analysis plays a major role in program effectiveness. A special unit is formed specifically to design tactics for the structured patrol force. It has principle responsibility for co-ordinating both patrol and detective division activities to develop and implement preventive, deterrent, or apprehension-oriented tactics. Rather than operating merely as a support function, this unit is central to the patrol function and runs the street operations of the structured patrol force. Basic patrol units, when not responding to calls for service, are assigned 'fixed post' duties which require only short blocks of time and can be easily interrupted in order to take calls. Fixed-post priorities are established by problem identification/crime analysis and may include:

- observing nuisance/disorderly locations;
- operating radar (school zones, etc.);
- traffic/parking regulation in problem areas;
- property checks in target areas;
- foot patrol in specified problem areas (malls, arcades, subsidized housing, etc.).

Structured patrol units, as noted, operate with direction from the crime analysis unit and employ tactics which require longer periods of time and resource commitment. Tactics may include covert activities such as surveillance, decoys, and plain clothes activities, as well as overt problem-specific saturation patrols, etc. In addition to these directed activities, the structured patrol force responds to emergency situations and is available for backup assignment to basic patrol units. Although internal problems may arise from usurping traditional detective functions and creating a 'specialist-elitist' group within the patrol division, remedial steps can be effectively taken to combine detective and patrol decision making processes and to regularly rotate patrol constables through both the basic and structured patrol forces. This program has been instrumental in increasing patrol productivity and decreasing reported crime activities in Wilmington, Delaware (Tien et al, 1978).

A NOTE ON FOOT PATROL

The importance of information sharing and co-operation between the police and the public cannot be overstated. The passage of information from the community is fundamental to any effective police agency. Unfortunately, one of the residual effects of mobile patrol methods--and the reform strategies associated with it--has been to essentially remove the police from regular public interaction. The present state of general duty patrol work has been stated by Heywood (1977:8) as follows:

> Today a policeman arriving at work usually dons his role and enters the community encased in a police car properly equipped with emergency equipment and fire power. From such a mode, surrounded in authority trappings, he proceeds to travel about his jurisdiction. His interactions with the public will be almost exlusively in a legalistic perspective. He may choose to intervene in any observed incident where he feels an offence has or is about to be committed. In such a situation, he enters from a power-coercive point of view representing authority, and has legal powers at his disposal to affect the situation in question ...in our increasingly enlightened and rights conscious society, these approaches are more and more being met with resistance, if not hostility.

One method of rectifying this state of affairs has been to put policemen 'back on the beat'. The resurgence of foot patrol in many North American jurisdictions indicates that there is a keen awareness of existing shortcomings in mobile patrol strategies. Of course, common sense dictates that foot patrol is more appropriate in urban core areas, business and commercial centers, high density urban housing tracts, public service facilities such as shopping malls, transit systems, etc. However the time-honoured association between foot patrol and big city policing is not necessarily appropriate any longer. For instance, many agencies that police predominantly suburban municipalities might find foot patrol beneficial within the small business districts and shopping areas which proliferate as convenience facilities for suburban residents. Likewise the 'main street' area of smaller cities and towns are equally amenable to foot patrol. This is not to say that a specific portion of patrol personnel must be dedicated to walking the beat full time. Many police agencies have instituted 'stop and talk' or 'stop and walk' programs which require motorized patrol personnel to get out of their vehicles and interact routinely with members of the public.

Sorting out the 'pros and cons' of foot patrol remains a management task; however, recent research has been conducted which tends to support, in a general sense, the overall efficacy of foot patrol. The Newark Foot Patrol Experiment (Kelling et al., 1981), for instance, makes the following summary observation:

> ...the general impression is gained that while foot patrol may not have a significant effect on crime, it does effect citizens fear of crime, the protective measures they take to avoid crime, and the perceived safety of their neighbourhoods in consistent and systematic ways. In general when foot patrol is added, citizens fear of typical street crimes seems to go down and generalized feelings of personal safety go up.
>
> (Kelling et al., 1981:6)

As is the case with most police efforts to control crime, it is very difficult to make definitive statements correlating foot patrol with the presence or absence of reported crime. This in itself is insufficient reason to disregard the potential benefits of foot patrol. An interesting finding was reported from the Flint Michigan Neighbourhood Foot Patrol Program (Trojanowitz et al., 1982). Over the three year evaluation period, calls for service decreased by 43%. It was found that less serious complaints were handled informally by foot patrolmen. Citizens had an option other than relaying complaints to the police central dispatch. As a result, many minor problems were handled more cheaply and efficiently and motorized patrols were freed up to attend calls for service of a more serious nature. (Trojanowicz et al, 1982:86). Consistent with the results of the Newark study, citizens felt safer because of the foot patrol program. Moreover, many respondents qualified their remarks by saying that they felt especially safe when the foot patrol constable was well known and highly visible.

The findings of both the Newark, New Jersey, and the Flint, Michigan, programs seem to suggest that foot patrol has a beneficial effect on police-community relations, heightens co-operation between the public and the police, while not compromising the traditional role of the police in terms of patrol methods. In terms of the community-based model of policing, it stands as a viable method of building and maintaining a sound working relationship between the police and the community.

CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION TRENDS[4]

Police work, as an occupation, has traditionally been cloaked in a certain mystique and sense of romanticism. The art or craft of bringing criminals to justice by conducting successful criminal investigations has been central to this perception of the police. Perhaps the last bastion for the police and certainly a new frontier for police researchers has been police detective work and the process of criminal investigation. Clearly, the impetus of current police research has been to challenge the efficacy of detective work as it has been traditionally organized and practiced. Goldstein (1977:55) has stated the case as follows:

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[4] Readers with a specific interest in this area are urged to read Chappell, D., et al, Criminal Investigations: A Selective Literature Review and Bibliography. Ministry of the Solicitor General. Ottawa, Ont.: Ministry of Supply & Services Canada, 1982.

> Much of what detectives do consists of very routine and rather elementary chores, including much paper processing; that a good deal of their paper work is not exciting, it is downright boring; that the situations they confront are often less challenging and less demanding than those handled by patrolling police officers; that it is arguable whether special skills and knowledge are required for detective work; that a considerable amount of detective work is actually undertaken on a hit or miss basis; and that the capacity of detectives to solve crimes is greatly exaggerated.

Misgivings such as those expressed by Goldstein have been harboured by researchers of the police and police practitioners alike. It has been largely accepted that crime clearance statistics are unreliable (Greenwood, 1970; Ward, 1971; Greenberg _et_ _al_., 1972). Research has indicated that relatively few burglaries and robberies, as representative of common property and person offences, result in arrest and that most arrests are in fact made by general duty patrol constables (Isaacs, 1967; Greenwood, 1970; Feeney, 1973). Research has also shown that the amount of investigative effort does not seem to effect the probability of solving robberies or burglaries (Greenwood, 1970; Greenberg et al., 1972).

In keeping with a great deal of criminal justice research during the 1970's, social scientists began to place a strong emphasis on 'outcomes and quantifiable measures' regarding criminal investigation processes (Kelling, 1979; Chappel et al., 1982). The Rand Study of Criminal Investigations (Greenwood et al., 1975) was the first major research project of this type and the most controversial.

THE RAND STUDY OF CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION

The Rand Study was designed to achieve four major objectives:

> - to describe, on a national scale (U.S.), current investigative organization and practices;
> - to assess the contribution that police investigation makes to the achievement of criminal justice goals;
> - to ascertain the effectiveness of new technology and systems being adopted to enhance investigative performance; and
> - to reveal how investigative effectiveness is related to differences in organizational form, staffing procedures, etc.
>
> (Greenwood et al., 1975:3:v)

Chappell et al., (1982), in a recent review of research on criminal investigation, suggests the significant findings of the Rand Study were as follows:

- differences in investigative training, staffing, workload, and procedures appear to have no appreciable effect on crime, arrest, or clearance rates.
- the method by which police investigators are organized (i.e., team policing, specialist vs generalist, patrolman-investigators) cannot be related to variations in crime, arrest and clearance rates.
- substantially more than half of all serious recorded crimes receive no more than superficial attention from investigators;
- an investigator's time is largely consumed in reviewing reports, documenting files, and attempting to locate and interview victims on cases that experience shows will not be solved;
- the single most important determinant of whether or not a case will be solved is the information the victim supplies to the immediately responding patrol officer;
- investigative strike forces have a significant potential to increase arrest rates for a few difficult target offences.

Based on these findings, The Rand Study authors concluded that:

> The effectiveness of criminal investigation would not be unduly lessened if approximately half of the investigative efforts were eliminated or shifted to more productive cases. The remaining investigative force should suffice to handle routine cases, which give rise to most of the clearances which now occur, and to perform the post arrest processing involved in the patrol arrest.
>
> (Greenwood _et_ _al_., 1976:1:x)

Despite the controversy sparked by the Rand findings, its publication has served to force the debate surrounding criminal investigation processes into the open (Anderson, 1978:8). Without a doubt, the Rand Study has caused a reassessment of traditional criminal investigation procedures and lead to new reform strategies. The most promising method of improving the criminal investigative process has been to construct formal case screening methods for the management of investigative workloads and the assignment of investigators to specific files.[5] Although many police agencies employ some form of informal case screening, the development of a formal mechanism permits more rapid and reliable case screening by police managers. The testing of such models for burglary offences by the Police Executive Research Forum (Eck, 1979) revealed that the model produced accurate predictions in 85% of 12,000 cases examined. The findings of this research prompted Eck (1979:3) to conclude:

> A screening model provides police managers with a tested tool with which they can direct their investigators to be more productive or, put another way, less wasteful of increasingly scarcepolice resources. Managers thus have a device by which they can control

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[5] A case-screening method was constructed by the Stanford Research Institute (SRI) for use in burglary and robbery investigation (Greenberg et al, 1972). Using computer-calculated mathematical weights for different items of information (solvability factors), the SRI burglary model identified those offences most likely to result in arrest.

> assignment of burglary investigations and impose a degree of order in an area--police investigations--where attempts at management traditionally have been the exception rather than the rule.

Contrary to the Rand Study findings, Eck's work shows that management efforts can positively effect the outcomes of criminal investigation processes.

Aside from case screening devices, alternative methods of deploying investigative personnel were explored. The Rochester, New York Police Department, for instance, decentralized and dispersed the Detective Division back to patrol teams within defined geographic areas (Bloch & Ulbert, 1974; Bloch & Bell, 1976). Despite internal resistance to change, the following positive results were reported:

> - teams made arrests in a larger percentage of cases initially classified as burglary and robbery than did non-team personnel;
> - teams cleared a larger percentage of burglaries and robberies than did non-team personnel;
> - teams made arrests at the scene of a crime in a larger percentage of their cases than did non-team personnel;
> - follow-up investigations of burglary and robbery by teams resulted in a larger percentage of arrests than follow-up investigations by non-team police.
>
> (Chappell et al., 1982:17)

Case screening and decentralized criminal investigation strategies thus offered an optimistic assessment of the effect of sound management techniques on the criminal investigation processes. This has prompted further examination of the management and internal organization of criminal investigations.

MANAGING CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION (M.C.I.) PROGRAMS

To assist with the implementation of more effective and efficient management techniques for criminal investigation, the National Institute of Criminal Justice and Law Enforcement of the U.S. State Department (1976) introduced the M.C.I. program. This program contained five major components:

- **The enhancement of the investigative role of patrol officers.** Although not designed to eliminate specialized investigators, the program attempted to maximize the use of patrol officers in conducting preliminary investigations which investigators would not need to repeat.

- **Case Screening.** A case screening officer determined which cases required further investigation. Patrol officers were also involved in the screening process through their crime incident reports. Solvability and seriousness of offences were determined according to a scale developed by the participating police agency based upon the SRI model or other similar analyses of solvability factors. Local crime priorities and departmental experience in solving various crimes could be included in this process.

- **Management of continuing investigations.** Police investigators were provided with improved management control procedures over

> investigations by detectives, including case seriousness, solvability factors and improved investigator supervision techniques.
>
> - **Police prosecutor liaison.** Liaison officers from the prosecutors office kept police administrators aware of continuous problems associated with prosecutorial charging policies and police investigative priorities. The prosecutor liaison personnel always provided information concerning the quality of investigative reports offered for prosecution, and had the option of screening cases for seriousness and quality of preparation prior to presentation to the prosecutor.
>
> - **Monitoring.** The program included a continual assessment of the quality of work, order of case priority for investigation, and the development of data relative to the allocation of resources between patrol and general and specialist investigators.
>
> (Miron et al., 1979:4)

Over a three-year period, approximately 400 U.S. Police Departments participated in the M.C.I. program and initiated some changes in the operation and management of their criminal investigation processes. Although published evaluation results are not yet available, preliminary assessment of M.C.I. suggests that it shows definite promise in improving the deployment of investigative and patrol personnel, and more effective case screening methods (Anderson, 1978). Supporters of M.C.I. suggest that giving patrol constables more responsibility for follow-up investigation will logically account for a large amount of previously unstructured time found in patrol work increase levels of job satisfaction.

Case screening is the most popular facet of the M.C.I. program and can be tailored to the specific needs of the depatment. Its primary function is to exert control over the management of criminal investigations. However, it also allows police managers to acknowledge that a substantial percentage of reported crime cannot be solved, regardless of investigative effort. As was the case with 'rapid response to calls', police administrators have been reticent to initiate case screening and abandon the claim that they investigate all reported crime, for fear of public outrage. Research has indicated, however, that police departments which have instituted case screening have not experienced negative public reaction. Consistent with earlier research it was established that public expectations could be altered if the police were candid about their investigative capabilities (Pate et al., 1976).

CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION IN THE 1980'S

A major research contribution to criminal investigation processes has recently been published by the Police Executive Research Forum (Eck, 1983). This study focuses specifically on the investigation of burglary and robbery offences and provides valuable new insights into the management and practice of criminal investigation. In some respects it stands in striking contrast to the Rand Study which sought to undermine the value of management efforts to improve criminal investigation effectiveness. In contrast, Eck's research asserts:

> The single conclusion that unites all of the individual findings, as well as policy recommendations, is that sound management is required to ensure that investigations are effective and that resources are not wasted.
>
> (Eck, 1983:xxxi)

Earlier research tended to emphasize the importance of patrol constables and preliminary investigations, while downgrading the worth of follow-up investigation. The P.E.R.F. study found that patrol officers and detectives contribute equally to the solution of robbery and burglary cases. P.E.R.F. attributed the difference in their findings to two factors:

- Their research documented the specific actions taken by detectives and the information gathered during follow-up investigations. The absence of such data made it impossible for previous researchers to measure the results of what detectives actually do.
- Changes had likely occurred in investigative management as a result of earlier studies (i.e., Rand). A number of years have elapsed

> since the publication of such studies and it was assumed that such studies had a profound influence on present investigative management.
>
> (Eck, 1983:xxiii)

This study acknowledged the importance of information collection and dissemination in the investigative process and the role of police management to logically order such information processes in order to maximize effectiveness and efficiency. P.E.R.F. further suggested that much better use could be made of information sources such as departmental records, witnesses, and informants. For instance, records could be organized more systematically, automated and or computerized (i.e., Management Information Systems). Witness information could be increased by more systematic neighbourhood inquiries. And informants (for both patrol and detectives) as well as street contacts could be co-ordinated and cultivated more aggressively.

An important observation made by P.E.R.F. and shared by Rand was that investigative work is primarily reactive and that management improvements, regardless of their effectiveness, will not diminish this underlying weakness. Investigations that take place after-the-fact, force investigators to respond to events outside their control. This study suggests a proactive problem-oriented approach to investigative work, under the rubric of 'targeted investigations'.

> Managers seldom step back from the daily case flow to examine its sources, diagnose the problems, and design new and innovative programs and policies to deal with them. Targeted investigations are an attempt to do that.
>
> (Eck, 1983:xxx)

An example of targeted investigations is the effort of police agencies (by themselves or combined units such as C.L.E.U. or J.F.O.) to focus on a small number of repeat offenders who are criminally active. From a problem-oriented perspective targeted investigations imply four basic steps: defining the problem and selecting the target, planning the strategy, conducting the investigation, and evaluating performance.

In general, this most recent P.E.R.F. study illustrates that tremendous potential exists for improving criminal investigation effectiveness--like most facets of police work--and that full potential will only be realized by sound management decision making, premised on the need to maximize efficient and effective use of police resources.

DISCUSSION

During the past decade, there has been a proliferation of criminal investigation research. With the exception of Ericson (1981), this research has been almost exclusively carried out in the United States. Although the need for similar research in Canada has been recognized (Engstad & Lioy (eds.), 1980), Canadian police officials and policy-makers still lack a Canadian information base. This may change with the initiation of a new research project on criminal investigation being conducted by Dr. Duncan Chappell in the Vancouver City Police Department.

The transferability of research findings from the United States to Canada should be treated with caution. For instance, many Canadian police agencies (and the R.C.M.P. exclusively) have traditionally required general duty patrol constables to conduct rigorous neighbourhood inquiries and preliminary investigations pertaining to all criminal offences. In fact, most routine investigations are handled entirely by the general duty patrol divisions. A great deal of the United States research, which is preoccupied with transferring investigative responsibility to patrol personnel, is of little value in this context.

In general, it can be acknowledged that criminal investigation research complements research efforts in the field of patrol strategies, crime prevention, calls for service, etc. There is an abiding concern for the outputs or goals, in keeping with a broader concern for overall fiscal accountability. This theme has been constant throughout our discussion of community-based policing.

SUMMARY

It is apparent from the initiatives cited in this chapter that efforts to upgrade police service delivery have touched on all aspects of traditional police activity. Making the best use of existing resources, in an effort to improve productivity and performance has become the keynote of these developments. Automated information technology, coupled with an accute awareness of qualitative and quantitative evaluation processes, have greatly assisted the police in this regard. That these initiatives involve such fundamental taskings as patrol, response to call and investigative processes, attests to the need for overall change in police service delivery, in keeping with changing community demand patterns.

These initiatives, because of their innovative nature and formative state of development, exist largely in experimental form as model programs, research ventures, etc. They represent a 'vanguard' movement towards rationalizing police services, based on the best technology available; both for the management of human resources as well as the management of hardware and software. It remains the prerogative of police management to decide on how (and how much) to invest in such initiatives and how such initiatives might best be applied to community-based policing.

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CONCLUSION

This report provides the reader with a comprehensive analytic review of the relevant research and literature on community-based policing. In addition, this review discusses a number of observations and implications for contemporary policing. Some of these issues bear repeating, they promise to affect the direction of policing in Canada in the years to come.

Discussion of the changing role of contemporary policing draws attention to some important social, political and economic trends which are creating pressures for change in traditional policing methods. The continual growth in demand for police services, particularly of a non-crime nature, coupled with declining levels of police resource funding constitutes perhaps the major challenge facing the police in the 1980's. The only real issue is how the police will respond to this challenge. The traditional police response of cutting so-called non-essential police services is described as short sighted and politically questionable. Instead, it is argued that the police must plan with the community new co-operative models of police service delivery. Community-based policing may offer a way of 'doing more with less' by providing new and previously untapped community resources and support. The redefinition of what have become defined as exclusive police problems as shared community problems, draws on the unique capacities of both the community and the police to co-operatively respond to the order and security needs of the community.

Empirical research reveals that the police perform and are expected to perform a wide variety of social ordering functions. This broad social role is a function of unique police powers and a public need for their services. The exclusive crime focus of much traditional policing fails to recognize this important dimension of policing focusing instead on relatively narrow and limited strategies of crime control. A more productive and publicly compatible model is offered by community-based policing, which accepts the broad nature of the social role of policing and seeks to actively involve the community in its policing strategies. Community-based policing is thus a style of policing which structures community consultation and involvement as the basis of its operational mandate.

Of critical importance to more effective and efficient policing in general and community-based policing in particular, is a need for more sophisticated, proactive planned management. An ability to not only manage effectively the internal dynamics of a police organization but also to understand and work with the community, places new demands on police leadership. The police executive of the 1980's will be required to actively plan and manage the traditionally 'reactive' mandate of the police. This may mean: adopting different organizational approaches to structuring police service delivery; being involved more aggressively and systematically with the community; recruiting, training and utilizing new human resource skills; embracing information and management technologies and engineering successful organizational change. The viability of community-based policing lies in the skills and abilities of contemporary police management to meet thismanagement challenge.

Community-Based Policing has at its disposal a number of innovative strategies and tactics for more efficient and effective delivery of police services. Problem-oriented policing offers a new approach to crime analysis and police planning that is concerned with substantive rather than process-oriented solutions. Differential response strategies have been developed to maximize effective use of police resources and break the reactive call for service syndrome. Team policing is an established system for organizing the work of the police from a community perspective. A variety of patrol strategies offer more efficient and effective alternatives to mobile random patrol. New approaches to criminal investigation similarly offer promising methods of improving traditional criminal investigation.

Finally, this report might be interpreted as a 'reinvention of the wheel', as various aspects of community involvement have always been part of policing. If this is true, then why have so many police managers and police analysts persistently felt it necessary to do so? Perhaps, like all early inventions that are supposedly made redundant by new technologies, there is a need to return to basic principles. It can be argued that the relationship between the police and the community has become increasingly complicated by both changes in the nature of society but also in the kind of policing that has evolved. The police no longer operate in a relatively simple, uncomplicated society, made up of largely self-regulating groups and individuals. Modern urban society is often diverse, fragmented and impersonal, while the police have become increasingly formalized, professional and technologically dependent. The issue of responsibility for crime and order problems has increasingly been shifted from the community to the police alone. The police, for their part, have responded with the best that training, modern organization and technology can provide. However, the limits of this one-sided relationship are becoming apparent. Crime rates continue to grow, demands for police service escalate and public allienation increases while the police feel more and more isolated and frustrated by public apathy and lack of co-operation. The solution, like the wheel, may be a relatively simple one. We must reinvent, in a planned and rational fashion, a relationship between the police and the public that not only shares responsibility for community problems but involves both parties in the determination of priorities and solutions. Efficient and effective policing within a participatory democratic framework is thus the essence of community-based policing. Though not without its particular share of difficulties, community-based policing may be the best answer we have to the crime and order problems of the 1980's.